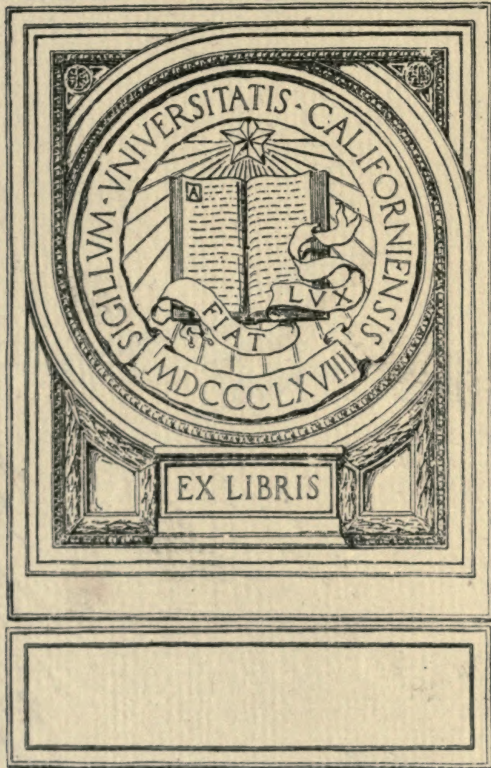
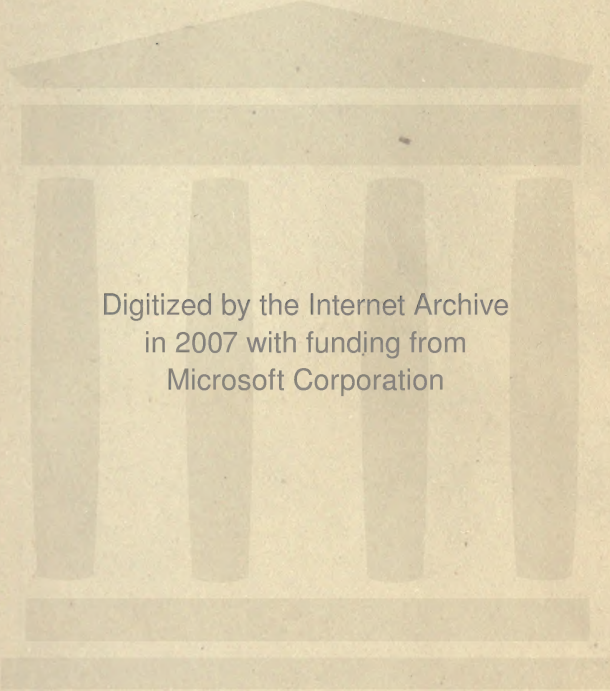


CLAUDIAN
AS AN
HISTORICAL AUTHORITY

J. H. E. CREES

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Cambridge Historical Essays. No. xvii.

CLAUDIAN
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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER.

London: FETTER LANE, E.C.

Edinburgh: 100, PRINCES STREET.



Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.

Berlin: A. ASHER AND CO.

New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.

Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

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CLAUDIAN
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HISTORICAL AUTHORITY

by
J. H. E. CREES,
M.A. Cantab., M.A., D.Lit. London

THE THIRLWALL PRIZE, 1906

CAMBRIDGE :
at the University Press
1908

CLAUDIAN

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HISTORICAL AUTHORITY

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'si qua fides audentibus omnia Musis.'

History Lathen

G. B. P.

PREFACE

IN this dissertation I have attempted an estimate of the value of Claudian's poems as historical authorities, chiefly for the years 395—404 A.D., the period in which the bulk of his work, probably all his Latin poems, was written. I have worked independently through the ancient authorities, but have not neglected to make myself familiar with the results of modern investigations wherever that was possible. When a modern writer has been followed closely, the debt is acknowledged in a footnote, and a list of the works chiefly used, and of the literature on the subject, is appended. I have marked with an asterisk those works of which I have been unable to consult a copy, and in drawing up this list have found the British Museum Catalogue and Professor Bury's edition of Gibbon of great use.

From the nature of the case, it can rarely happen that a poet is the chief authority for a period. But the paucity of other trustworthy material and the copiousness of the information which Claudian gives us, have led many critics to avail themselves freely of Claudian's poems, and perhaps may justify another

examination of the history of this limited period. While familiarity with Claudian's works has only intensified my admiration for his wonderful artistic gifts—and few poets even in Latin literature, the least spontaneous and most elaborated of all literatures, repay more richly a minute study—I have not been able to follow him with indiscriminating loyalty, still less have I been able to rank myself with those who regard his works as almost valueless historically speaking, a conclusion which does not do justice to his great powers of narrative, his faculty of delineating character, and the brilliance of his special pleading. It is true that Claudian writes with a bias, but even critics of the present day (Professor Mahaffy, for instance) have held that bias is a necessary element in the composition of a truly great history. That his accounts need the closest scrutiny I would not deny, and I have endeavoured throughout to test his statements most rigorously. Whatever result we attain to, of this at least we may be certain, Claudian would have cared little whether our opinion was favourable or not. He used ancient history most aptly and extensively both for texts and for illustration; it was natural that he should make of contemporary events an *ἐπίδειξις* or an advocate's exposition. An examination of Claudian must therefore be at once literary and historical, and I have pointed out at various places the artistic motives which have led to curtailment or to entire reticence. His skill in the use of the various literary forms is also noticeable.

He has achieved successes in the Panegyric, the Epic style, the Satire, not to speak of the Elegiac form and the Epithalamion. His position as a poet and a client inevitably prevented his attitude from approximating to that strict impartiality, or at least fairness and moderation, which we rightly demand in the professed historian. And after whatever deduction we please has been made for bias, and for considerations of artistic expediency, his works remain inestimably valuable as the last great expression of the Roman spirit in literature, and also as an exposition of the point of view taken by Stilicho with regard to contemporary events. Seeing that Stilicho is, on the Roman side, the one great figure of the epoch, we may congratulate ourselves that through the fortunate accident of his friendship with Claudian, we may form so vivid a picture of Rome's last great man. Indeed what perhaps has detracted most from the historical value of Claudian is not a partiality, for which we can make due allowance, but the troubled circumstances of the age, and the dissensions between East and West, which, as Eunapius almost at the time pointed out, made a historian's task so difficult.

I had formed all my conclusions previous to reading Gueldenpenning, the only modern writer who has treated this period in detail throughout—he confines himself practically to Eastern affairs—and have therefore found that in my treatment of some matters I have been anticipated. I venture to hope that in such

cases the fact that I have independently arrived at the same conclusion may be another argument in favour of such conclusions. In regard to some points of detail I have been led by a perusal of Claudian to accept other unfavourable judgments upon Theodosius. Among the later Emperors he certainly takes a high place, but I am unable to accept an estimate which assigns to him as remarkable a prophetic insight into the future of the Empire, and as great practical skill in confronting and coping with impending difficulties as Julius Caesar possessed. His measures seem rather clever expedients to meet the exigencies of the time than the far-sighted calculations of a consummate statesman. In any case, the instruments were lacking, and he too was deficient in sustained grasp of affairs, a prey to the impotence of passion and the fawning deference of his courtiers. He was not destined then to create a new revived Romano-Gothic state as Caesar had built up a Romano-Hellenic cosmopolitan empire. I have not followed Birt and Koch in putting Stilicho's second expedition to Greece in 397 A.D. I look upon Mascezel as a crafty intriguer beaten at his own game, and believe that Stilicho ordered his murder.

As regards the puzzle of Synesius, I am not at all inclined to accept the enthusiastic valuations of Seeck and Gueldenpenning. Wherever we can test the allegory by other evidence, it fails to satisfy. In a desire to give artistic expression to the antagonism

between his friend and Typho, Synesius seemed to have utterly distorted the truth.

I have not been able to accept the usual chronology of the Gothic invasion of Italy. I have not gone back to the older date of Pollentia without some misgivings, but much of the evidence for the earlier date is to me unconvincing. I find a difficulty in believing that Alaric stayed a whole year in Italy between Pollentia and Verona, and therefore assign Pollentia and Verona both to 403 A.D.

The bibliography subjoined is, I hope, tolerably complete, though it does not claim to be exhaustive. I regret that it has been impossible for me to obtain some of the smaller German tracts.

Chapter IX. (the West from 404 A.D. to the death of Stilicho) did not form part of the original essay, but the Examiners for the Thirlwall Prize have sanctioned the insertion of this additional chapter, which carries the story of Stilicho's career to its termination.

In accordance with the regulations of the University of London, it should be added that this essay has been approved by the Senate for the degree of D.Lit.

J. H. E. C.

WYGGESTON SCHOOL, LEICESTER,
October, 1908.

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BOOKS CONSULTED

A. ANCIENT AUTHORITIES.

CLAUDIAN. The best edition is that of Birt, *M. G. H.*, 1892, which is of very great value. The edition is not annotated, but is complete from the textual point of view. The introduction contains a life of Claudian, an account of the chief MSS., and a valuable historical introduction dealing with the history of the time in which the poems were written. The poems too are dated, which, owing to their character, is often easy. There is also a valuable index which has often been of use in finding stray passages. The edition will long remain a standard one, but I have not been able to agree with every conclusion of Birt.

There is also another edition of the text by Koch in the Teubner series. Jeep's edition of the text contains some remarks on the history of the time. His placing of Stilicho's second expedition in 395 is generally rejected. I have used also the edition of Gessner.

La Guerra Getica, ed. by Donadoni. Palermo, 1896.

SYMMACHUS. Edited in the *M. G. H.* by Seeck. The historical introduction and index are very useful.

CHRYSOSTOM. Migne, *Patrologia*; also an edition with Claudian's *In Eutropium* by Castelli, useful for purposes of contrast. It has a sketch of Claudian's life, and some remarks on the historical importance of both, and parallels.

SYNESIUS. Migne (*De Regno* and *De Providentia* chiefly).

PRUDENTIUS. Edited by Dressel.

RUTILIUS. An elaborate edition, recently edited by Vessereau, with historical introduction and complete bibliography, Not annotated except textually.

RUTILIUS NAMATIUS, annotated by Mr C. H. Keene and translated by Dr Savage-Armstrong, 1907.

SOZOMENUS. Migne, *Patrologia*.

SOCRATES. Migne.

PHILOSTORGIUS. Migne.

THEODORET. Migne.

ZOSIMUS. The latest edition by Mendelssohn; also Reitemeier's.

OROSIUS. By Zangemeister in C. E. S. contains a list of Orosius' authorities and of 'expilatores.'

THE CHRONICLES are collected in two volumes of the *M. G. H.* edited by Mommsen, the *Chronica Minora*.

JORDAN. Edited by Mommsen, *M. G. H.*

JEROME. Migne, *Patrologia*.

CODEx THEODOSIANUS, edited by Mommsen, 1904, in two volumes. Useful historically as it contains the various laws arranged chronologically under each year, and a list of officials, *notitia dignitatum*, etc. Gothofred's edition is also valuable.

HISTORIA MISCELLA. (Anonymous.) Migne, vol. xcv.

NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. Seeck.

PAULINUS. *Vita Ambrosii*. Migne.

PAULINUS NOLANUS. *Carmina*. Migne.

DREPANUS PACATUS. *Panegyric of Theodosius*. Migne.

INSCRIPTIONS. *C. I. L.* and Dessau.

COINS. Cohen. Contains full list of coins under each Emperor; also Sabatier, coins of Eastern Empire.

MÜLLER. *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv. (with historical commentary; Eunapius chiefly).

B. MODERN WRITERS.

GENERAL WORKS.

GIBBON. Edited by Bury. (Notes useful for lists of literature on subject.)

BURY. *Later Roman Empire*.

HODGKIN. *Italy and her Invaders*; also *Two Lectures on Claudian*.

CLINTON. *Fasti Romani*; very useful; collects all passages bearing on the history of the period and works in everything.

TILLEMONT. *Histoire des Empereurs*, 1638. This is very full and exhaustive.

GUELDPENNING. *A detailed history of the Eastern Empire, starting with the reign of Arcadius*.

DILL. *Roman Life in the last century of the Western Empire*.

CRAWFORD. *Synesius the Hellene*, a study of the works of Synesius.

GLOVER. *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*.

PALLMANN. *Die Völkerwanderungen*.

THIERRY. *Récits historiques*; readable and interesting.

BARONIUS. *Annales Ecclesiastici*.

BOISSIER. *La fin du Paganisme*, vol. II. (especially Claudian and Prudentius).

C. SPECIAL MONOGRAPHS.

BIRT. *De fide Christiana*.

BIRT. *Two political satires*.

*CHAUTARD. *Quid ad historiam conferat Claudianus*.

GREGOROVIVS. *History of Athens in the Middle Ages*, p. 84. Alaric in Greece.

GREGOROVIVS. *Kleine Schriften*, vol. IV. Did Alaric put an end to the ancient worship?

KELLER. *Stilicho*.

KOCH. In *Rhein. Mus.* XLIV. p. 587 sq.

MÜLLER (Erasmus). *De luxu aevi Theodosiani*.

NEY. *Vindiciae Claudianae*, 1865. Marburg.

*RICHTER. *Stilicho and Rufinus*.

ROSENSTEIN. *Alaric and Stilicho*.

SCHULZ. *Stilicho*.

*SCHULZ. *Stilicho, a Wallenstein of the Ancient World*, 1805.

SEECK. *Philologus*, vol. XLII.

SEECK. *Forschungen zur Geschichte*, vol. XXIV. p. 175 sq.

SIEVERS. *Studien zur Geschichte des Oströmischen Weltes*.

SIMONIS. *Versuch einer Geschichte des Alarichs*.

VOGT. *The Gildonic War*.

VOGT. *The political tendencies of Stilicho*. Cologne, 1870.

VOGT. *De Claudiani carminum fide historica*.

*VOLZ. *De Vesegotharum cum Romanis conflictionibus*.

VOLZ. *Pollentia and Verona*.

*ZEISS. *Claudian und das römische Reich*, 359—408. Landshut,
1863.

INTRODUCTION.

Si qua fides augentibus omnia Musis.

Κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς Εὐτροπίου τοῦ εὐνούχου τῶν μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν οὐδὲν ἀκριβῶς γράφειν ἐξῆν εἰς ἐξήγησιν, τό τε γὰρ διάστημα τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ μῆκος μακρὰς ἐπολεῖ τὰς ἀγγελίας καὶ διεφθαρμένας ὑπὸ χρόνου, καθάπερ ἐς χρόνιον καὶ παρέλκουσάν τινα νόσον μεταβεβλημένας, οἳ τε πλανώμενοι καὶ στρατευόμενοι, εἰ μὲν τινες ἦσαν τῶν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ δυναμένων εἰδέναι, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἕκαστος κατὰ βούλησιν ἀπέστειλεν... ὥστε ἔργον ἦν διαλύειν τὰς συμπλοκάς.

EUNAPIUS, frag. 74.

THE historian and the poet have little in common. *History and poetry* When Aristotle sought for Poetry its strongest anti-*their dif-* thesis, he found it in History¹. Such was the austere *ference.* conception of History, as a treasury of facts systematically arranged, from which all poetic embellishments were rigorously excluded, that Thucydides, the father of the school of scientific historians, first enunciated, and—a task more difficult—put into practice². But

¹ ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἢ δ' ἱστορία τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγει. ἔστιν δὲ καθόλου μὲν τῷ ποίῳ τὰ ποῖα ἅπτα συμβαίνει λέγειν ἢ πρᾶττειν... τὸ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον, τί Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπραξεν ἢ τί ἐπαθεν. *Poetics* 1451 b.

² Thucydides emphasises the care he took in collecting information. τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν... ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὕρισκετο... κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται. He does not write like the poets, ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες, or like the λογογράφοι, ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκρόασει ἢ ἀληθέστερον. But most men accept accounts without sifting them. Book i. chs. 20—22.

this conception, however inspiring in the hands of a great master, was too austere for the average writer or the average man. Aristotle, who in the domain of physical fact, established a similar scientific method, could perhaps appreciate it, yet two of his own pupils, Ephorus and Theopompus, were destined finally to dethrone Science in favour of Rhetoric. The historical aspirant preferred to walk in easier paths, and History became merely an ἐπίδειξις, in which Truth had modestly to retire to the background¹.

*History
at Rome
rhetorical.*

Such was History in the period of Greece's decadence. At Rome also, though for a different set of reasons, the literary conception prevailed. This happened not primarily from aesthetic motives, but because Rome's bent in literature was didactic. History became a thesaurus of texts and commonplaces for the edification of the young. The annals of early times became the Roman Old Testament. Rome, as the patriotic Roman loved to think, was a peculiar people, highly favoured by the gods. This favour was the reward of the special Roman virtues, of which Roman History was the continuous illustration, and those ancient worthies who had so gloriously exemplified these typical qualities were as well known to the Roman as were the heroes of Israel to the devout Jew. This point of view necessitated a freedom of treatment, which led unerringly towards the same artistic conception which now prevailed in an inferior form beyond the Adriatic. Selection of incidents, the suppression of unfavourable facts, the invention or colouring of narratives with a view to edification, led to a treatment of History half rhetorical and half didactic. The

¹ Polybius is a notable exception.

Romans indeed surpassed their masters. No member of the neo-historical Greek school bequeathed to posterity works which can be put beside the brilliant and finished narrative of Livy¹—a perfect work of art—and the profoundly reflective and epigrammatic writings of Tacitus². And thus the scientific Thucydidean conception of History, which had long and painfully maintained an unequal struggle against rhetoric and partisanship disappeared.

Roman poetry and Roman history meet in rhetoric. This is the common uniting element. Scarcely a line of Roman poetry lacks the elaboration and complexity of the rhetorician. The possibility of a poet becoming a valuable authority is therefore at once least unlikely, and, one must add, least distressing to the hyperaesthete, in a literature which is rarely spontaneous and ever conscious of some concrete end. However the gulf between the historiographer and the poet had never as yet been successfully bridged. With a true instinct, Claudian connects himself in one of his graceful prefaces with Ennius, the faithful follower of Scipio, and

*Rhetoric
common
to both
Roman
poetry and
history.*

¹ Livy's aim was not to investigate more closely, but by his artistic gifts to supersede his predecessors, ‘scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superare.’ Book i. preface. He omits incidents which seem uninteresting (compare his use of the expressions ‘piget scribere,’ and the like), and he rarely troubles to decide between conflicting authorities, but follows a few without sifting them. His design was to shew, ‘per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit.’

² His conception of history is given in the *Annals*, III. 65, ‘praeceptum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.’ In this Livy entirely agrees, v. preface to Book i. He desires also to teach men how they may live under the empire, ‘ut olim plebe valida vel cum patres pollerent;...ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu...haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit.’ *Annals*, IV. 33.

the enthusiastic chronicler of his glories¹. But Ennius' Punic War was at best only a *succès d'estime*. It had become antiquated and men read it only as a patriotic duty. Other poets had been keenly alive to the dangers which lurked in the path of the verse historian, and had been deaf to the voice of the sirens. Horace had cheerfully avowed his incapacity for the task of celebrating the exploits of Augustus, and had with all complaisance left that privilege to the pedestrian Muse². Virgil³ had steadfastly turned away from the glamour of contemporary history, and had fixed his gaze upon the past, or rather upon that timeless conception of the eternal city, by which the idealised Rome is embodied in an everlasting present.

The difficulties of a laureate.

The difficulties of the poet, who wishes to treat contemporary affairs, are then great. Tasteless flattery, and an undue precision in prosaic details, are both faults which render him liable to ridicule and neglect.

- ¹ 'maior Scipiades...
non sine Pieriis exercuit artibus arma,
semper erat vatū maxima cura duci.
haerebat doctus lateri, castrisque solebat
omnibus in medias Ennius ire tubas.'

v. 12 *de Cons. Stil.* III.

Cf. too v. 21, 'noster Scipiades Stilicho.' Claudian very deftly compliments both himself and Stilicho at once. He compares Stilicho to Scipio, and leaves the reader to infer that he is another Ennius (whose name was still held in honour).

- ² 'scriberis Vario'; and later,
'pudor imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni.'

Odes, I. 6, 12.

So II. 12, he pleads the unfitness of the lyric measures:

'tuque pedestribus
dices historiis proelia Caesaris.'

³ Instead of celebrating the exploits of Augustus, he went back to a legendary past. Yet past, present, and future are all interfused. Aeneas is destined by Jupiter to found an eternal empire; he sees in Hades a long line of his descendants yet unborn, and Augustus' advent is foretold before Rome is even founded.

Yet in a genre in which all poets from Ennius to Alfred Austin have failed (if they have not wisely shunned so hazardous an enterprise), Claudian has won an astonishing meed of success. He started with all the disadvantages conceivable. A hack poet, emerging from some Alexandrian Grub Street, constrained to celebrate the tame consulships of the tamest patrons, or required like some verse automaton to evolve hexameters on every passing event, he is never at a loss. The nervous terse lines flow in a copious stream, with power suggested in abundance by every verse, in honour of a *roi fainéant*, a high born mediocrity, or some Pyrrhic victory of tortuous strategy. Versatility, exuberance of power, brilliance of epigram, neatness of antithesis, a great command of language, tact and dexterity are combined in one formidable equipment. Indeed he enters the lists with an overwrought panoply. He almost wearies one by the ease of his mastery; he sometimes rings hard, and is lacking in feeling. The most Virgilian of poets in vocabulary, he is the least Virgilian in spirit. Continuous echoes of Virgilian cadences cannot disguise from us the fact that this brilliant courtier of a savage and inhuman age, Christian only in externals, has none of that kindly sympathy or delicacy of sentiment which are such charming characteristics of Virgil. Yet his success was great. Numberless poetasters have hymned the glories of their patrons, and won the fleeting σοφῶς of the recitation room, Claudian is almost unique in having at once pleased his masters and found some favour with posterity.

We may fitly dwell a moment more upon the character of his genius. He is 'rich with the spoils' *His characteristics.*

of time.' The time for originality of style in Latin poetry had passed. Virgil had raised the poetry of Rome to its zenith, but his very perfection had arrested all further development. Henceforth the poet perforce gave utterance to his thoughts in the language and the cadences of Virgil. Claudian had thus to speak in an ancient and obsolescent idiom. He is the last of the Classical poets and by a natural consequence his style is wondrously composite. His debt to Virgil is heavy, but his other creditors are numerous. A single poem may recall to us the declamation of Juvenal, the feverish rhetoric of Lucan, a satiric touch of Lucilius, or a phrase of Horace¹. This was Claudian's misfortune. Yet the poet contrives, though speaking a well-worn speech, to attain to individuality of utterance. An apt and retentive memory enabled him to reproduce with marvellous accuracy the Virgilian diction. But his memory was his obedient servant and not his master, and his consummate mastery of a bygone style was united with a tact and ingenuity which hindered his works from being mere long-drawn exhibitions of purposeless

¹ For his imitations of Juvenal and Lucilius, cf. Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren*. Birt also in his edition of the text of Claudian notes beneath it the passages in which the poet has imitated any of his predecessors.

For an imitation of Catullus, cf. *In Eutropium*, II. 23 ;
 of Lucilius, *In Eutropium*, I. 111 and 276 ;
 of Lucretius, *In Eutropium*, II. 515 ; *Paneg. de Olybrii cons.* 7 ;
 of Horace, *ibid.* 12 and 170 ; *In Rufinum*, I. 206, II. 16 ;
 of Ovid, *In Rufinum*, I. 4 ; *Paneg. de Olybrii cons.* 171 and 177 ;
 of Juvenal, *In Rufinum*, II. 39 ; *In Eutropium*, I. 23 ;
 of Lucan, *Paneg. de Olybr.* 78 ; *In Eutropium*, II. 515.

These are of course only a very few out of many. Claudian is enormously indebted to his predecessors both for his 'topics' or commonplaces, and for his diction. From one point of view Claudian is a series of echoes.

pedantry. This skill in the development of a theme tempts one to regard him as the first of prize poets. A profusion of Virgilian tags, elaborately wrought similes interspersed here and there, a brilliant exordium and a telling peroration—what better examples of this class of exercise can be found? But his transcendent power amounts almost to a difference of kind, and lifts him out of this despised category.

CHAPTER I.

CLAUDIAN—HIS LIFE AND GENIUS—OTHER AUTHORITIES.

*His
private
life.*

CLAUDIAN seems to have come originally from Alexandria¹. In his earlier years he wrote in Greek, and not till he came to Rome did he become known as a writer in Latin verse². He attached himself to wealthy Romans like the sons of Probus, whose munificence he with due feeling eulogises, Gennadius and Florentius. He afterwards improved his position by winning the favour of Stilicho, who made him as it were court-laureate and gave him a position near Honorius³. He therefore left Rome for Milan⁴, but

¹ In No. 19 of the *Carmina Minora* he speaks of Gennadius as 'nostro cognite Nilo,' cf. 22, *ad Hadrianum*, 'audiat haec commune solum longeque carinis nota Pharos, flentemque attollens gurgite vultum nostra gemat Nilus numerosis funera ripis.' So Hesychius says, 'Κλανδιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς.' Birt shews in his introduction that he was not a Paphlagonian, pp. iv-vi.

² He says *Ad Probinum* vv. 13 seq., 'Romanos bibimus primum te consule fontes et Latiae accessit Graia Thalia togae, incipiensque tuis a fascibus omina cepi fataque debebo posteriora tibi.'

Birt rightly observes, Introduction, p. viii, 'iam vero, id quod occidentalis imperii vates factus est, tam grave poetae visum est ut pro novo vitae exordio poneret.' The notice of Prosper under 395 A.D. is correct. Claudian published no poem before, but he must have previously exercised himself in Latin verse.

³ In *Rufinum* was his first poem in honour of Stilicho (Rufinus was slain towards the end of 395 A.D.). But the panegyric on the third consulship of Honorius, written for Jan. 1, 396, is virtually a eulogy of Stilicho. In this he says, 'me quoque...audet magna suo mittere Roma deo.'

⁴ At the end of 399 A.D., he says that Stilicho 'te mihi post quintos annorum Roma recursus reddidit et votis iussit adesse suis.'

always retained an affection for the former city. Of his private life we know little. He seems to have been successful in his suit of a wealthy lady, aided by the favour of Serena¹. After the composition of the poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius, 404 A.D., he disappears. Whether, weary of his vocation, he retired to the joys of domesticity, whether he died suddenly, or survived until the fall of Stilicho, we can only conjecture. He entered into fame and publicity as suddenly as he retired from them. As it is, of the man himself, out of his court dress, we know absolutely nothing.

We may however proceed to a few inferences from his minor poems. He seems to have combined great talent with remarkable servility. His greater poems would alone suggest this, and his compositions addressed to less distinguished personages shew that he was very much of a sycophant. We have some pitiable abject entreaties addressed to Hadrian and Alethius², but it may be urged that neither the age, nor Claudian's circumstances, permitted him to cultivate greater independence. We have also a number of short poems

¹ *Carm. Min.* xxxi., vv. 37-62.

² Claudian appears to have offended Hadrian by an epigram, *Carm. Min.* 21. In 22 he pleads for forgiveness and conjures up a lively picture of the perils which surround him. Possibly these are simple imaginary, but it is difficult to regard the whole poem as merely ironical as some have done. It was not expedient for Claudian to make powerful enemies, so he wrote palinodes to extenuate his indiscretions.

xxiii. to the quaestor Alethius is similar :

'versiculos fateor, non cauta voce notavi,
heu miser! ignorans quam grave crimen erat.'

These poems do not shew the poet in a favourable light. So xl. and xli., to Olybrius and Probinus, shew his anxiety at their apparent coldness, and neglect to write to him. Claudian was not Symmachus. What in the latter was graceful affectation was to Claudian a real trouble.

on various subjects, such as the Nile, the Phoenix, an astrolabe, etc. These are obviously of a slight character, but they helped to develop his epigrammatic style and powers of versification. There is also a more ambitious work *De Raptu Proserpinae* in three books.

Claudian's command of the hexameter is great, although he has not the same variety as Virgil. His faculty of writing elegant and beautifully turned elegiac verse appears to great advantage in the prefaces which stand before some of his longer poems. These in their class could scarcely be surpassed¹. Besides his Latin writings we have two fragments of a *Gigantomachia*, in Greek, and a few epigrams.

Was he a
Christian?

On one important point there is a conflict of views. We have only one poem of his in which the doctrines of Christianity are mentioned. His sentiment throughout is pagan, and if the gods of Olympus were removed, half the material of his poems would be gone. Later writers therefore with a show of reason called him a pagan². Yet if Stilicho and his entourage were not Christian at heart, they conformed³; and the emperor

¹ The preface to *In Rufinum* I., for instance, begins with some charming lines in which the overthrow of Rufinus is compared to the slaying of Pytho by Apollo. In the preface to Book II., the Muses are bidden to return to Helicon, now delivered from its barbarian invaders. The prefaces often give us information as to the time and place of composition or recitation of the poems. Sometimes the preface is omitted and we are plunged at once 'in medias res.' Claudian is a thorough master of his craft.

² Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, v. 26 'a Christi nomine alienus.' Orosius, Augustine's disciple, calls him 'paganus pervicacissimus.' Birt maintains rather subtly that Augustine did not call Claudian a pagan which would have been untrue, but he refers to Claudian's ignoring Christ in his poems. Introduction, p. LXIII.

³ Cf. Birt, *de fide Christiana*:

'mortalia corda
artificem tenuere poli, mundique repertor
pars fuit humani generis, latuitque sub uno
pectore qui totum late complectitur orbem.'

himself, as became a son of Theodosius, was a loyal Christian. It is safer then to conclude that Claudian bowed himself in the house of Rimmon, and recompensed himself by employing the heathen mythology as freely as he pleased. The poem *De Salvatore* proves nothing. Claudian plays with his subject, the Virgin Birth, and handles it only in a series of his favourite antitheses¹. The poem was probably written out of compliment to Honorius, and ends very jerkily with an appeal that divine favour may attend him. The poem does not breathe the spirit of Christian devotion. That is entirely absent, and the final appeal typifies rather the religious standpoint of the Roman of the old school¹.

His attitude to Christianity then was not in reality much different from that of Symmachus. He as a votary of a decadent religion pleads for tolerance in view of the one idea underlying all creeds². Similarly culture and sympathies attached Claudian solely to Paganism, but in his case no way hindered a nominal Christianity.

Claudian's skill is shewn chiefly in his masterly variation of similar themes. His poems on the various consulships of Honorius, and his praise of Stilicho, all shew some difference of treatment. And yet, owing to that rhetorical training which we have mentioned, the groundwork is very similar. The panegyrics upon Honorius generally start with a glorification of Theodosius and of Theodosius the elder, this is followed by

*Claudian's
treatment
of his
subjects.*

¹ 'Augustum foveas, festis ut saepe diebus annua sinceri celebret ieiunia sacri.'

² Cf. the celebrated relatio to Theodosius on the Altar of Victory 8, 'suus enim cuique mos, suus ritus est, varios custodes urbibus cultus mens divina distribuit, ut animae nascentibus, ita populis fatales genii dividuntur.'

compliments to Honorius himself, and finally there is a vision of conquest, in which Honorius appears as overwhelming the East and reviving Rome's ancient glories¹. The treatment in skeleton sounds bald enough, but it is elaborated with great skill. Only after close scrutiny, not after a casual perusal, does one realise the monotony of the design. Other themes too receive frequent treatment, but they are handled with the greatest dexterity, so that the reader is rarely wearied. Dullness was to all the later Roman poets the sin past forgiveness, which they made frantic yet often unsuccessful efforts to avoid. That one who was merely a poet to order, constrained by his position to produce his work at slight notice, should nevertheless have contrived to give his occasional poems much of the fire and majesty of the epos is sufficiently remarkable. Yet in celebrating the trivial achievements of a mean and sterile age, Claudian rose to lofty heights, and conquered for himself a place among the greater poets. Much of his work would not harmonise with some modern definitions of poetry, but this is the common failing of a large proportion of Latin verse. But whatever name we give to it, it would be idle to deny that his nervous vigorous lines, his sustained power, his mastery of language, and neatness of finish, justify the critic in

¹ *Paneg. de tertio cons.* Honorius' infancy and his father's conquests, 1-50. His grandfather, 52-60. The overthrow of the tyrants and Theodosius' apotheosis, 63-174. The Reign of Gold returns, 185 to end.

De quarto cons. The House of Theodosius, 17-69. The two tyrants, 70-110. Honorius' birth, 122-154. Theodosius' precepts, 214-352. Stilicho, 430-483. Honorius' qualities, 518-564. Hopes for the future, 619-656. So to a large extent *de sexto cons.* This similarity of design is enough of itself to disprove Jeep's theory that the poems on the third and fourth (sic) consulships were in reality both written for 396 A.D. They are similar not complementary.

assigning to him a considerable place in Roman literature.

The poems which will chiefly claim our consideration are those dealing with the consulship of Honorius, the first consulship of Stilicho, the invectives against Rufinus, Eutropius and Gildo, and the poem on the Gothic War. These poems contain the fullest information we have on the events between the accession of Honorius 395 A.D., and his sixth consulship 404 A.D. It will be our task after examining them in detail, with the help of the other authorities available, to consider how far we may trust Claudian in constructing a narrative of the events of these years, and to decide in what respects he is defective, in what untrustworthy.

We do not find ourselves amply provided with good and copious authorities. These may naturally be divided into two classes, contemporary or primary, and secondary or more remote.

The primary authorities are Symmachus, Prudentius, Ambrose, Jerome, the Codex Theodosianus, some few inscriptions, Rutilius Namatianus, Orosius, Synesius and Chrysostom. The secondary authorities are the Greek ecclesiastical historians, Philostorgius, Socrates, and Sozomenus, Jordanes the Goth, Zosimus, fragments of Olympiodorus and Eunapius, and many Chroniclers (Prosper Tiro, Cassiodorus, Idatius, Marcellinus, etc.). These we proceed to comment on separately.

Ambrose and Jerome will trouble us little. Ambrose's sermon on the death of Theodosius is of interest. It was delivered just after the death of Theodosius, and in the presence of Honorius: Claudian's statement that Theodosius, feeling his end approaching, sent for his younger son, is thus confirmed. It gives us some in-

Scope of present thesis.

The authorities.

(1) *Primary;*

and (2) *Secondary.*

Ambrose 'de obitu Theodosii.

formation about Theodosius' last moments, and there is an appeal to the soldiers to remain loyal, but except this and some stray allusions, it contains nothing of value to us. The death of Ambrose early in the reign, prevented him from exerting upon the young Honorius the influence which the Bishop of Milan would naturally have wielded.

Jerome.

Jerome in his hermit cell at Bethlehem, engrossed in his theological labours, scarcely heeded the course of contemporary events. But accounts of the Gothic and other incursions penetrated to him, and his numerous correspondents kept him in touch with passing events. He does not help us much.

*Sym-
machus*
340—402
A.D.

Symmachus, who might have been very useful, is not so. Nothing is more disappointing to the historical inquirer of this epoch than a search through the letters of Symmachus¹. In the midst of stirring events, he is content to be a chronicler of senatorial small-beer. Letters of introduction, letters of intercession, begging letters, and epistles of congratulation—thus we may summarise the correspondence of this very inferior Pliny. We realise, however, in some measure the intensely conservative nature of Rome. We see the Roman rabble still as it had been in the days of Juvenal. *Panis et Circenses*, indeed, aptly sums up a large portion of the letters. It was as ever mutinous at the slightest crises, and ready for an *émeute* at the smallest tightening of the corn supply². The senate, which from the

¹ Gibbon rightly observes, 'Few facts and few sentiments can be extracted from his verbose correspondence.' Vol. III. (Bury) p. 193.

² Cf. Symmachus, vi. 18, 'patriam, defectu alimentorum graviter laborantem periculosum est habitare, impium et crudele deserere,' vi. 22, 'frumentariae penuriae mala legationis ambitus nequiores facem subdidit.'... 'orta certatio usque ad nefarias pugnas me absente processit. pudet dicere quae in se optimates senatus crimina et maledicta

earliest days of the empire had strutted across an ever-narrowing stage, engrossed in the petty triumphs of an insignificant *coterie*, appears in the same light. The letters dealing with senators and senatorial affairs are insufferably vapid, the atmosphere of pretentious respectability and priggish conventionalism is very trying. Rome in the march of time had become a provincial town, and the erstwhile assembly of kings had shrunk to the dimensions of a parish vestry. Throughout his long career Symmachus scarcely honours even with an allusion the striking events of his time. His brother had been indiscreet enough to join one of the tyrants, and this peccadillo forced Symmachus to spend much time on supplicatory letters¹. However, we learn little about the tyrants. The only letter which is of any real importance as a historical document is that letter to Stilicho, in which he relates the condemnation of Gildo, thus confirming Claudian's statement that the senate, in accordance with ancient precedent, was consulted before a declaration of war.

Prudentius the Christian poet is valuable as a pendant to Claudian. There is no doubt about his orthodoxy. The only work with which we are concerned is his poem against Symmachus, who had desired the emperor to establish again in the senate-house the altar to Victory. With a purpose similar to that of Augustine, he touches on the invasion of Alaric, and declares that his failure was due to 'Heaven supporting

proiecerint.' So vi. 33. For the *circenses* vii. 4, '*circensium sollemnitati consularis magnificentia satisfecit.*' Cf. vii. 8, also. For street brawls cf. viii. 65, '*placiditas tuis consiliis parta, quibus plebs redacta est in paenitendi verecundiam.*'

¹ Cf. the letters to Florentinus the quaestor, to Protadius and to Felix.

Prudentius born
348 A.D.

Rome¹. His account of the Pollentine campaign may usefully be compared with that of Claudian.

*Rutilius
flourished
about 416
A.D.*

Rutilius Namatianus² was a Roman official of some importance who wrote after the fall of Rome. He is the last Pagan poet and reaches a respectable standard of merit. He describes a voyage from Rome to Gaul along the coast, and in the middle bursts out in a vehement attack upon Stilicho, which needs consideration. He seems to have been a man whose prejudices carried him away at times. His works are not of great bulk, and except for one passage do not help us.

*Orosius
flourished
about 417
A.D.*

Orosius is above all things a pragmatist. He is the author of a theological tirade against Paganism, with excursions *en passant* into the realm of history. He endeavours to rear a philosophical superstructure upon a very frail foundation. His thesis is the same as that of Augustine, but there is a vast difference between his shallow and narrow clerical attitude and the wider and more profound treatment of Augustine. He wrote at the instigation of Augustine, but the disciple was a very inferior imitation of his master. He mentions only incidentally the battle of Pollentia, and has a marvellous account of the expedition against Gildo³. His intemperate zeal, his lack of all historical craftman-

¹ *In Symmachum*, II. 695 seq., 708, 'dux agminis imperii que.'

'Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit et comes eius atque parens Stilicho.'

v. 744, 'hic Christus nobis deus affuit et mera virtus.'

² For Rutilius there is a good recent edition by Vessereau with translation and essays. Though a pagan Rutilius does not attack Christianity, see Vessereau, p. 276: 'Je ne crois pas que dans son poème il ait jamais voulu attaquer la religion nouvelle.' But he is prejudiced against Jews, v. 390, and monks, v. 440.

³ Orosius was used by Jordan (Mommsen, *Chronica*, p. 27). Cassiodorus speaks coldly of him, 'collator praesto est vobis si eum volueritis legere.' Jordan followed Orosius frequently, 'dignus ille

ship render his work of little value. Though he lived in Africa 20 years after the overthrow of Gildo he is unable to give a satisfactory account of that event. All modern critics speak ill of him. The Codex Theodosianus was, it is true, not compiled until the reign of Theodosius II, but it contains a collection of the enactments made since the reign of Constantine, arranged under fifteen heads. This Codex is useful in various ways. It is serviceable from a chronological point of view. Each enactment is dated, and this gives us the consular *fasti* and sometimes a sequence of events. It also enables us to trace the movements of the Emperor from place to place, and to form a list of the chief executive officers of the time. Unfortunately the code cannot always be relied upon in this respect, and its testimony has sometimes to be rejected in view of the other evidence. Besides these minor services, it helps us to trace the history of law and administration at that time. The Edicts on religious matters and on the goods of those prescribed are most important for us¹.

*Codex
Theo-
dosianus.*

Several inscriptions are of particular importance². The statement of Claudian that a statue was erected

magister tali discipulo.' 'Pollentia introducitur tamquam lacinia vesti perfectae male inserta.' Mommsen.

Keller is as unfavourable as Mommsen, 'er hat so von seinem Hass gegen die Heiden zu einer solchen Entstellung der Thatsachen hinreisen lassen dass sein Bericht von keiner Bedeutung ist,' p. 13.

¹ The most recent edition is that of Mommsen in two volumes. It contains the laws arranged chronologically as well as under the different sections. I have also used Godefroy's edition.

² The chief are 2949 Dessau, an inscription in honour of Claudian, 794, 'vindicata rebellione et Africae restitutione laetus' (senatus), 795 on the same, 797 on the restoration of the walls of Rome, 798 celebrates the overthrow of the Goths, 799 has the name of Stilicho erased, 800 is a bulla containing the names of members of the royal family, 1277 in honour of Stilicho, and 1278, 'pro singulari circa se eius amore et providentia.'

in his honour is corroborated by an inscription. There are several valuable inscriptions relating to Stilicho, and one chronicles the restoration of the walls of Rome, a circumstance of which Claudian too informs us.

*'In Eutropium
Homilia.'*

Chrysostom contributes a single homily of great importance, that upon Eutropius¹. He dwells upon the greatness of Eutropius and gives us some details of his fall. His account is valuable as both confirming and supplementing that of Claudian. But with the quarrels and adventures of Chrysostom at Constantinople and in exile, we are not concerned.

*Synesius
of Cyrene
died after
410 A.D.*

Synesius, subsequently bishop of Cyrene, is of great importance as a contemporary. He is, as Gueldenpenn- ing has shewn, the mouthpiece of the anti-German party in his oration *De Regno*, and had opportunities for being thoroughly acquainted with all the court struggles of the time. His allegory, 'the Egyptians,' is more perplexing than informing. It contains a considerable store of facts, but the key is lacking².

*Zosimus
wrote after
425 A.D.*

Of the secondary authorities the chief is Zosimus, another partisan. His leaning is towards Paganism. It would be difficult to say whether he or Orosius is the more finished bigot. The extremes approximate most marvellously. Both deal largely in the supernatural, and both have the same bitter tone. Zosimus had

¹ Delivered in the church of the Apostles when Eutropius took refuge there from the guards of Arcadius. There is another homily delivered after Eutropius' removal, which explains how that event occurred. Chrysostom avers that Eutropius voluntarily quitted sanctuary.

² Gueldenpenn- ing and Seeck attach considerable weight to the statements made by Synesius. Seeck characterises the Egyptians as 'eine der bedeutendsten aber zugleich auch eine der wunderlichsten Erscheinungen.' *Philologus* 52, p. 442 seq. Claudian does not concern himself much with these Byzantine factions.

been a member of the Eastern civil service¹, and wrote chiefly from the Oriental point of view. We cannot therefore compare his accounts with those of Claudian very freely. He tells us much of Gainas' later treasons, which Claudian ignores. On the other hand so careless is he of Western events, that he only mentions one invasion of Italy by Alaric. And he is so clumsy in his handling of events that he mentions only one expedition of Stilicho into Greece (395 A.D.), and straightway proceeds to narrate the Gothic invasion of Italy, and the fall of Stilicho, 13 years after (408 A.D.). However, he gives a copious account of Rufinus and Eutropius.

Zosimus is not a skilled historian. Most modern critics, who rarely have a good word for him, condemn his mechanical methods. He seems to have had no historical acumen. His authorities are Eunapius², and later Olympiodorus, and these he follows slavishly. As neither of these writers has survived except in fragments, his value is necessarily enhanced; but his method leads to serious inconsistencies. In the earlier part of his work he condemns Stilicho, and later, following a different authority, he praises him³. He contributes few facts which Claudian had left unmentioned, and is valuable chiefly as an exponent of the

¹ 'comes et exadvocatus fisci.' He wrote after 425 A.D., see Mendelssohn.

² οὐ γράφει ἀλλὰ μεταγράφει τὴν Εὐναπίου τῷ συντόμῳ μόνον διαφέρουσιν, Suidas. He was an imitator of Polybius.

³ But the inconsistency is not in reality serious. Zosimus' praise is merely comparative and strictly limited; cf. Zosimus v. 343, πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐνδυναστευσάντων τῷ χρόνῳ γεγονώς μετριώτερος...τρεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰκοσιν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐστρατηγηκώς οὐκ ἐφάνη ποτὲ στρατιώταις ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἢ στρατιωτικὴν σίτησιν ἢ εἰς οἰκεῖον παρελόμενος κέρδος. This is probably true, yet we need not therefore ascribe to Stilicho all the virtues.

unfavourable view of Stilicho's character. As an Eastern official, he formed a low idea of mankind, and refused to credit Stilicho with greater virtues than those possessed by the average venal politician of the day¹.

*Ecclesi-
astical
historians.*

*Philo-
storgius.*

The Church historians give us little help. Engrossed in the factious struggles of the various parties which thrived so vigorously in the East, they only bestow a casual mention upon other events. The most considerable of them is perhaps Philostorgius the Arian, of whose history only fragments survive². His interest is chiefly in the ecclesiastical squabbles of the time. He is an admirer of Theodosius the Great, whose character he defends against the attacks of Zosimus. He relates the ascendancy and fall of both Rufinus and Eutropius. The operations of Gainas and his overthrow by Fravitta are related, but Alaric's first invasion of Italy is not mentioned. Socrates follows next. He describes the invasion of Italy by Theodosius in 394 A.D., and the battle on the Frigidus. He mentions the storm during the battle by which Theodosius was helped; a circumstance which Claudian does not pass over. The different use the two writers make of the same event is significant. Socrates mentions

*Socrates
wrote
about
440 A.D.*

¹ One critic justly says, 'quo magis te in Zosimi familiaritatem insinuaveris, eo magis ei diffidere disces, tempora miscet, loca ignorat, res non connexas nectit, nexasque divellit, fabulas miraculaque persequitur.'

Schulz too is unfavourable, 'in eligendis fontibus saepe inconsiderate et imprudenter egit,' p. 33. His value fluctuates according to his source: 'artis criticae est, huic auctori tum tantum fidem habere, ubi eum diffidas non causa est.'

Yet von Wietersheim is kinder. He praises his 'acumen ingenii iudicique in rebus publicis sagacis,' qualities previously undiscovered.

² These are preserved for us by Photius, and are edited in Migne's *Patrologia*.

that Theodosius sent for his younger son after his victory, and his speedy death. He briefly touches on the predominance of Rufinus and Eutropius, and Gainas and Tribigild naturally receive more attention at his hands than at the hands of Claudian.

Socrates¹ was a scholasticus and not a clericus. His chronology is bad. The dates which he gives under the different Olympiads are generally wrong. He employed the work of Philostorgius, but it is doubtful whether he used Olympiodorus and Eunapius. His treatment of profane history is very defective and he is lacking in political insight. And thus though he seems to be quite impartial, his work is a disappointment.

The work of Sozomenos, a lawyer of Constantinople, is a plagiarism of that of Socrates, on rather a large scale. From the latter writer he borrowed both the materials and the arrangement of the materials. He mentions the predominance of Rufinus and Eutropius, and the exploits of Gainas, but is far more interested in Chrysostom and his troubles, than in the politics and court intrigues of the day. However, he mentions Alaric's sojourn in Greece.

*Sozomenos
about
454 A.D.*

Sozomenos is therefore not much more than an enlargement of Socrates², but he seems to have referred independently to the principal sources. He is still more ecclesiastical than Socrates, and in Harnack's opinion

¹ I have followed Harnack in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on Socrates and Sozomenos. Theodoret is practically of no assistance. He mentions the great intimacy of Rufinus with Theodosius and Ambrose's rebuke of him for the massacre of Thessalonica, v. 17.

² Schulz praises him, p. 25. He was a man, 'requisitoris intelligentiae, propter exquisitam fontium optionem et discussionem ab omni ira ac studio longe remotam ad historiae lucem afferendam summi pretii.'

lacks even Socrates' vestige of a historical sense. He is, too, very vague in chronology.

It is clear then that the Church historians are in general useful only for the history of the East. The limitations of their plan, which makes them dwell upon trifling personal and theological controversies, render them of less importance in purely secular things.

Jordanes
540 A.D.

Jordanes, a Gothic bishop, wrote about 540 A.D. a history of his own people and an epitome of the history of Rome. An abridgement is of all historical tasks the most difficult, and Jordanes shews himself entirely lacking in that precision, lucidity, and neatness of touch required to make a good epitome. Mommsen, who has edited both the *Res Romanae* and the *Getica* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series, passes a stern but just judgment upon him. His confusion, lack of order, and partisanship are only equalled by his faults of style and language, and the latter is particularly canine¹. For this reason it is not always safe to amend the grave grammatical blunders with which his text abounds. Yet in spite of these faults he is not absolutely useless². In the *Getica*, his first work, he gives an account of the rise and history of the various tribes of the Goths, shewing favour to the Alans, but revealing a certain amount of prejudice against the Vandals. The history is written at some detail, but there are many gaps. There is not a word about the invasion of Greece by Alaric, and the account

¹ Most of the following paragraph is derived from Mommsen's preface.

² 'auctor pessimus, sed, ut res habet, necessarius.' Other faults are 'levitas summa et laudis Gothorum ultra iustum modum augendae studium.' 'antiqua odia et nova ita apud rerum Gothorum scriptorem erumpunt ut vel apud Jordanem uberius deprehendantur.'

of the invasion of Alaric is shockingly confused. The Pollentine War is blended in inextricable error with the later invasion, which resulted in the capture of Rome, and this blunder necessarily impairs his authority. He follows amongst others Prosper, Marcellinus, and Cassiodorus, and published his work in the years 526–533 A.D. The work is merely an epitome of a larger work, and the preface is an impudent plagiarism from Rufinus' version of Origen's commentary on Romans¹. His *Romana*, still more brief, is of little help for this period. He mentions Rufinus, Eutropius and Gainas, and is unfavourable to Stilicho.

Jordanes is necessarily, from his position as the first writer to express the Gothic point of view, of considerable interest. But he had obtained the merest tincture of culture, and could neither write correct Latin, nor rise above the level of a slipshod compiler. Incompetent and incoherent, he maunders stupidly on. He is never trustworthy, he teems with inaccuracies. Partiality for the Goths led him to give the victory at Pollentia to them, and to tone down all Alaric's actions, until he appears in every case the aggrieved party.

The *Chronicles* too have to be considered. For the most part they record the *Fasti* and nothing else. They have been recently edited by Mommsen in two volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. *The Chronicles.*

Hydatius is by far the best of the chroniclers of the fifth century, and is not very far removed in time from our period². He was a Spaniard, and bishop of Callaecia, *Hydatius.*

¹ 'mera epitome est, luxata ea et perversa.'

² Most of the statements made concerning the chroniclers are derived from Mommsen's edition of the *Chronica Minora*.

'longe optima sunt ex annalibus nobis servatis saeculi quinti.' Mommsen, p. 5.

and lived under the Suebi kings of the fifth century. As he was a child in 406 A.D., we may infer that he was born about 394 A.D., and he lived to a good old age. His chronicle is based partly on written authorities, partly on oral narrative and personal knowledge¹. He has notices for the years 394 and 395 A.D., but nothing then until 399 A.D., when he mentions a synod. He is thus of little service, unfortunately, as he was in a far better position than later writers to have helped us.

Prosper

Prosper Tiro, like Hydatius, wrote in the fifth century². He was of Aquitania and his chronicle is specially concerned with Gaul. The first edition was published in 433 A.D., but this we do not possess, and later editions were brought out in 443 and 455 A.D. In the opinion of Mommsen, who could never suffer fools gladly, the book is worthless, and fit for the rubbish heap. A book on important matters could scarcely be composed with less care³. He continued Jerome's chronicle from its conclusion, but the period 379-455 A.D. is not treated more carefully than the earlier part. It is of a little use, as he followed chronicles now lost, or draws upon his personal knowledge. He was used by Victor Aquitanus and Cassiodorus. He places the overthrow of Eugenius and also the rise to fame of Claudian in 395 A.D. He gives only the names of consuls till 399 A.D., when he says correctly

¹ 'partim ex studio scriptorum, partim ex certo aliquantorum relatu, partim ex cognitione quam iam lacrimabile propriae vitae tempus offendit.'

² It is well known that Gibbon calls Prosper Tiro merely Prosper. His *Prosper Tiro* is one of the *Chronica Gallica* which Mommsen has edited, and was the work of another man.

³ 'in summa re minore studio ac diligentia liber conscribi vix potest quam conscripsit homo Aquitanus.' He chronicles 406 years according to his own account, yet records 407 consuls. Mommsen, p. 348, *Chronica Minora*, vol. I.

enough¹ that Eutropius entered upon his consulship but was deposed. He places the invasion both of Alaric and Radagaisus in 400 A.D. wrongly, and assigns the battle of Pollentia to the year 402. Another invasion of Radagaisus takes place in 406 A.D. Prosper, then, is simply misleading in our period, whenever he might be of any use.

Cassiodorus the senator published his chronicle in 519 A.D. He was bidden by the consuls to set about his task, he says, for the benefit of the people of the city, and had used many authorities. He uses Prosper Tiro for the years after which Jerome ceases, and is perhaps even more stupid than that worthy. He leads off in our period with a blunder by assigning the defeat of Eugenius to the year 395 A.D., though it is clear from the other authorities that that defeat took place in the year before the consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, viz. 394 A.D. He mentions Claudian as flourishing in this year. Till 400 A.D., he gives only the names of the consuls. In the case of 399 A.D. a curious blunder shews his lack of historical knowledge. Mallius Theodorus is dissected into Mallius and Theodorus, who share the consulship². This makes one inclined to doubt whether he had read Claudian, despite his reference to that poet. Again he places the invasion of Alaric (with Radagaisus) in 400 A.D. Few put the invasion of Radagaisus so early, and indeed the silence of Claudian is conclusive. In spite of Claudian's statement that the invasion lasted only over one winter, he places the battle of Pollentia in 402 A.D. His

¹ 'ablato honore damnatus est.'

² 'Mallio et Theodoro consulibus.' Eutropius was the other consul, but was deposed.

inaccuracy deprives his book of that stamp of historical credibility of which he boasts¹. In spite of his complacency as regards his compendious arrangement of events ranging from the creation of Adam up to his own time, he is capable of blundering more badly than even Prosper.

Marcellinus V.C.

The chronicler of Count Marcellinus, a *Vir Clarus*, is much more valuable. Jordanes used him, and Cassiodorus alone mentions him², but he was little consulted in the Middle Ages. He was a Chancellor of Justinian, and his work had the countenance of that emperor. He also wrote an elaborate treatise in four books on the character of seasons and the positions of places. Although he lived in the East, he used Latin as his own language. He was probably not of high birth. His chronicle extended from 379–548 and was probably first published before 527 A.D. He used Orosius until that writer fails him (414 A.D.), the Latin *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, and the *Consularia Italica*, but not Prosper. It is the fullest chronicle that we have, and is more than a bare enumeration of consuls. The leading events are generally mentioned. For instance, under 395 A.D. he mentions the death of Theodosius, the succession of his sons, the plots of Rufinus, his dealings with Alaric, and finally his slaughter by the soldiers at Constantinople. Under 396 A.D., Eutropius' predominance and wealth are noticed. Under 398 the death of Ambrose and the rebellion of Gildo, of which he gives an epitome following Orosius. For 399 A.D. he gives the consuls

¹ 'in ordine me consules digerere censuistis librariorum varietate detersa, operi fidem historicae auctoritatis impressi.'

² 'institutiones divinarum humanarumque litterarum.' i. c. 17, cf. Mommsen.

correctly, quoting Claudian, and mentions Gainas' intrigues. There are also entries in Greek which contain additional information about Eastern affairs. In 395 A.D. we are told of the marriage of Arcadius, Theodosius' funeral, and of Rufinus' murder in the Hebdomon, in 397 of the birth of the Princess Flaccilla, and in 399 of the birth of Theodosius the younger.

He is thus the fullest and most discreet of the chroniclers. He seems to have been more conversant with history than the average chronicler, and thus was preserved from their vulgar errors.

The *Consularia Constantinopolitana*¹ contain the list of consuls with a few other notices. They mention the demolition of temples in 399 A.D.² by the Counts Jovian and Gaudentius. With them is joined a Greek *Chronicon Paschale*. This worthy puts the death of Theodosius in 394 A.D. Some Latin entries assign Honorius' third consulship to the year 398 A.D., but this was incontrovertibly Honorius' fourth. It mentions an eclipse of the sun in 402 A.D., to which Hydatius also refers, but nothing else of importance.

The *Chronica Italica*³ (*Fasti Ravennates*) have not come down to us in their entirety, although they were complete in the ninth century. They were used by Prosper, who published the edition which we have in 443 A.D. Most of the later chroniclers employed them, and it is a matter for regret that they have not remained intact. They were the work not of one man but of a succession of authors. There were also various editions, some amplified, some abridged. The Chronicle was

¹ Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, vol. i. pp. 199-247.

² So does Victor Aquitanus.

³ Mommsen; the title is 'pro re nimis augustus.'

first published in 387 A.D., and was from time to time brought up to date by the booksellers. It deals with the West only, and chiefly with Italian matters.

Isidore.

Isidore¹, a Spaniard, who was bishop of Hispalis and died 636 A.D., wrote a history of the Goths. He used Jerome, Orosius, Hydatius, Prosper, and the *Fasti Ravennates* in the latter part of his work, though he mentions no authority by name. It is, however, an unskilful compilation from these writers, in which inconsistent accounts are sometimes pieced together. There was a double recension of the work. In one the rhetoric is suppressed, in the other there are amplifications by the editor. The invasion of Alaric, which is associated with that of Radagaisus, is put in the fourth year of Honorius. Isidore has little else of importance and confines himself generally to events in the East.

*Cyclus
Paschalis.*

A *Cyclus Paschalis*² contains a list of consuls and the date of Easter. The latter might have been useful in fixing the date of Pollentia if we could be certain of the year in which that event happened. In 403 A.D. Easter was on March 30, in 402 it fell later, on April 8.

*Fasti
Vindobonenses.*

The *Fasti Vindobonenses Priores*³ are of no importance to us. They wrongly put the death of Theodosius in 396 A.D., and state that Alaric entered Italy on November 17, 401, in which the *Additamenta ad Prosperum Hauniensia* agree. The latter adds that Alaric brought his whole army and marched over the Julian Alps. They give no other details, though the

¹ Mommsen, 'imperite et neglegenter,' p. 244.

² The author is unknown, Mommsen, p. 203, vol. i. The work was published 630 A.D., at Constantinople, 'ut titulus ait.'

³ Mommsen, vol. i., *Chronica Minora*, pp. 274-336.

Additamenta assign Pollentia to 402 A.D., shewing that the writer's biennium is substantially the same as Claudian's one winter.

The *Chronica Gallica*¹ contain an account of the houses of Valens and Theodosius. They mention Theodosius' summons of Honorius and the division of the empire. The empire suffered many heavy blows during this reign². The power of Rufinus and his rivalry with Stilicho are mentioned. His death is ascribed to the overthrow of his Hunnish bodyguard, an affair which no other authority mentions. Claudian and Prudentius' fame are referred to, and also the rising of Gildo, and the demolition of the temples. *Chronica Gallica.*

Victor Aquitanus³ gives us a list of consuls with the *Cursus Paschalis*. Mallius and Theodorus are the consuls for 399 A.D., as in Prosper. The *Cursus* is inconsistent with that previously mentioned, and is a day out. The *Annales Antiquiores ad Cyclos Dionysianos* contain a notice of the demolition of the temples in 399 A.D., and of some event in the gladiatorial games⁴ which has puzzled many commentators. *Victor Aquitanus.*

The Chronicles, even from the chronological point of view, and accurate chronology should be the first aim of an annalist, fail to fulfil their purpose. Our chronological foundation is faulty in several places. The gaps and inconsistencies leave us in uncertainty, whenever the sequence of events is at all doubtful. Claudian's custom of writing poems to celebrate consulships fortunately enables us to date most of his poems with

¹ Mommsen, vol. i. p. 629.

² 'multa in huius principatu gravia rei publicae vulnera contigerunt,' i.e. in the reign of Honorius.

³ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 666.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 755, 'et gladiatorum ludi tulti.'

certainty, with the help of the *fasti* which have been preserved. But cases still arise where we are at a loss. We justly expect of chronologers, who claim to know the date of the creation, that full and unerring sequence which we cannot require of a poet. Yet the two campaigns of Alaric in Greece, and his invasion of Italy, are either ignored, or there is profound disagreement. Experience amply confirms the remarks of Mommsen. It is to be feared¹, he says, that the critic who attempts to put the annalists right, will waste his time. He will waver between jejune narrative and rash conjecture and uncertainty. We do not know whether an author has taken his account from a different or from the same source, or has relied on his own powers of invention. Nor is too much importance to be attached to differences of chronology, which may quite easily be due to the scribes. And therefore some questions of chronology must really be left as insoluble.

*Eunapius
of Sardis.*

One writer of importance still claims our attention: Eunapius², the chief authority of Zosimus, has come to us only in fragments. The loss seems to have been considerable. We may conclude at any rate that Zosimus' model was superior to Zosimus himself. He seems to have some pretensions to the proud title of

¹ 'ipsos annales qui restituere temptant, vereor ne in plerisque operam perdant.' It is uncertain, 'utrum auctor posterior ex primario sibi viso integriore derivet et in eam aliunde adsciverit, vel adeo temere excogitarit,' Mommsen, p. 213, vol. II.

² Eunapius was a contemporary writer, but he confined himself to the East. He wrote after 414 A.D., and his history extended to 404 A.D. He was anti-Christian. Besides his history, of which we have little, he wrote short biographies of the philosophers and sophists of his time, or of the age preceding. Müller's judgment, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, vol. IV. p. 8, is unflattering, 'incompositam farraginem nebula involvit narratione quam dicendi genere deturpat scabroso et inepte picturato quod tanquam nervosum simul et elegans ista aetas admirabatur.'

philosophic historian, but his consciousness of a wider outlook and a profounder conception of history did not foster the virtues of modesty and humility. The duty of fidelity to truth, a virtue to which he pays in words at least divine honours, appears to have been constantly on his lips. One most interesting fragment¹ reveals vividly to us the difficulties which historians in one part of the empire had to face in obtaining accurate information about the other. In another, which seems taken from the introduction to his work, he dwells upon the function of the historian. He hears that many are writing history, men who, be it said with all modesty, are arrogant, inflated, and enemies of the truth. Magnanimously he blames them not, but from a lofty pedestal censures the proneness of humanity to exaggeration and to extravagance; a tendency which forcibly sweeps away the historian, and undermines the foundation of truth in all court affairs, where it overbears men by plaudits of agreement; φίλος θεὸς καὶ φίλη ἀλήθεια he concludes, exclaiming against himself for his weakness in venturing upon this question². We have also a number of fragments dealing with Stilicho, Rufinus

¹ Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv. No. 74.

² Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv. frag. 73, τῷ δὲ ταῦτα γράφοντι οὐ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφερεν ἡ ὁδός, ἀλλ' ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα ἀνατρέχοι καὶ στηρίζοιτο πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦσδε τοὺς χρόνους ἤκουον καὶ συνεπυνθανόμην, ὡς ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα γράφουσιν ἱστορίαν. οὐδ' ἐγὼ οὐ τι νεμεσητὸν λέγω ἀλλὰ ἐπίσταμαί γε σαφῶς ἄνδρας ἀγερῶχους τε καὶ σκιρτῶνας καὶ ἀληθείας τοσοῦτον ἀφεστηκότας, ὅσον ἐντὸς εἶναι ἀναγωγίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνοις μέφομαι, τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης κρίσεως τὸ λίαν ἄκρατες καὶ ὀλισθηρὸν καταμέφομαι, ὅτι θελγόμενοι καὶ καταγοητευόμενοι, τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον, ἂν ὀνόματος μνησθῇ τις περιττοῦ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς γνωρίμου καὶ τι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀκριβέστερον ὑπορῶντες ἐξενέγκωσιν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν τε κροτοθόρυβον ἔχουσιν ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγοντες καὶ πάντα εἰδότες. (The other half of this enormous sentence is omitted.)...ἀλλὰ οὐκ οἶδα ὅστις γίνομαι ταῦτα γράφων· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ φροντίζειν ἀληθείας· ἀλλ' ὃ γε τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἀκολουθῶν καὶ πειθόμενος ἀκριβείαν τε προσκυνήσει καὶ ἀλήθειαν.

and Eutropius, which enable us at least to realise the debt of Zosimus.

Though his works have suffered shipwreck, Eunapius has contributed as much as anyone perhaps to our view of the history of this period. He was a man of independent judgment, and cultivated this possibly to moroseness, certainly to self-complacency. He was a man who gained submissive satellites by the very boldness of his assertions. Zosimus was content to follow haltingly in his footsteps, and to adopt the trenchant, dogmatic conclusions of a stronger personality. Through a lofty contempt for the meanness and venality of his contemporaries, or in the rancorous cynicism of disappointed ambition (by which motive he was influenced we can now only speculate), Eunapius had arrived at the general principle that every man had his price, and that integrity and loyalty were antique fables. Rufinus, Eutropius and Stilicho are united in one indiscriminate condemnation. He is the source of that more turbid stream, which unites but refuses to blend with the limpid current of Claudian's verse, and from that day to this Stilicho's faith has lain under suspicion. Eunapius had the satisfaction of leaving some enduring mark upon the history of the time. The might of a decided personality has prevailed, and has perhaps even done violence to truth.

Besides his pretensions to philosophy, Eunapius had claims to be considered as a stylist. His phraseology is certainly ambitious, though his fine writing lacks sureness of touch, and fails in its aim. In truth some of the fragments which have been preserved for us would have seemed sad jargon to a critic whose taste had been nourished on the purer diet of the classical

authors. Yet his preciousity stood him in good stead. It gave him a high place with the lexicographers, and many a subtle neologism has preserved for us in Suidas a passage for which its other merits had not been able to win immortality. We have only samples of him, and from these it is inexpedient to judge. But they seem at least to shew that he was above the low level of dull, matter of fact, plodding mediocrity, which characterises most late historians. Vigorous originality pushed to the verge of wilfulness, pride of intellect merging into arrogance, are almost welcome novelties in the fifth century. Zosimus might well have said in the familiar phrase long consecrated to literary vassaldom, that the faults of the *Nova Historia* were all his own, the merits all Eunapius'.

Such then are the authors by whose aid we must test and supplement the account of Claudian. We now proceed to examine his poems in detail.

CHAPTER II.

Theodosius—His policy and Claudian's estimate of him—His ministers, Rufinus and Stilicho—Their mutual enmity—The 'tyrants,' Maximus and Eugenius—Battle on the Frigidus, and death of Theodosius, 395 A.D.

CLAUDIAN first essayed to write Latin poetry in the latter days of Theodosius. The panegyric upon the brothers Olybrius and Probinus was written for the first day of 395 A.D., on which they assumed office. His literary activity was confined almost entirely to the reign of Honorius, but it is interesting to see what estimate Claudian had formed of a greater prince, Theodosius the Great, and to compare it with other appreciations.

*Theo-
dosius in
Claudian.*

However unintentionally, his judgment is not highly complimentary to a monarch to whom historians have given the title 'Great.' In his desire to extol Stilicho, Claudian necessarily put Theodosius to some extent in the background. This is not all. He shews by casual statements and allusions that Theodosius' statesmanlike qualities were marred by some serious failings. It was excusable that an unskilled youth like Arcadius should fall under the domination of a crafty dexterous intriguer like Rufinus, but the extenuation is of little

avail in the case of Theodosius. It was Theodosius himself who had raised the Gascon from nothing to the highest elevation, and who deferred to his advice too frequently for the benefit of his own reputation. The poem *In Rufinum*—entirely trustworthy in this respect—tells us that there was a long struggle for pre-eminence waged in the lifetime of Theodosius between the rival ministers¹. It was Rufinus whom the universal voice held responsible for the massacre of Thessalonica², it was Rufinus who, to gratify his own cruel intent, inflamed the angry passions of Theodosius. Not Theodosius, but Stilicho³, put on his shoulders the burden of the tottering world, and dared withstand Rufinus.

Of the origin of Theodosius we hear much from *Theodosius senior*. Claudian. His father was the first of his house to win fame, though a pedigree was traced back by some to the family of Trajan⁴. He had fought against Firmus⁵,

¹ 'certamen sublime diu, sed moribus impar,
virtutum scelerumque fuit, iugulare minatur;
tu prohibes; ditem spoliatur; tu reddis egenti' etc.
In Ruf. i. 297.

² Theodoret v. ch. 17, 393 A.D., according to Clinton, *Sozomenos*, vii. ch. 26.

³ 'at non magnanimi virtus Stilichonis eodem
fracta metu; *solus* medio sed turbine rerum,'
In Ruf. i. 259, etc.

and 'qua dignum te laude feram qui paene ruenti
lapsuroque tuos umeros obieceris orbi?'
Ibid. 274.

⁴ 'Ulpia progenies et quae diademata mundo
sparsit Hibera.' *IV. cons. Hon.* 18.

⁵ 'hinc processit avus, cui post Arctoa frementi
classica Massylas adnexuit Africa laurus,
ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
qui medios Libyae sub casside pertulit aestus,
terribilis Mauro debellatorque Britanni
litoris ac pariter Boreae vastator et Austri
quid rigor aeternus caeli, quid frigora prosunt
ignotumque fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso

who had detached Africa temporarily from the empire thirty years before Gildo. But his exploits were not confined to Africa. He had trodden on the sands of Tethys in either latitude. Furthest Thyle quaked before him, and he had won successes against the painted Picts and Scots¹. Cold Hibernia had mourned the heaps of Scottish slain. That gallant warrior would perhaps have been surprised if he could have perused 'this posthumous account of achievements which were no doubt creditable. He is the object of a retrospective apotheosis, and becomes a useful *deus ex machina* for Claudian. But Theodosius far outstripped his father's fame². He had checked the barbarian flood which had swept over Thrace, and threatened to transfer the North to the South, covered Mysia with Gothic waggons, and overrun the Bestonian

Orcades ; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thyle ;
Scottorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiverne.'

.....
'arx incensa Jubae, rabies Maurusia ferro
cessit et antiqui penetralia diruta Bocchi.'

IV. cons. Hon. 40.

Cf. too,

'bellipotens inlustrat avus qui signa Britanno
intulit Oceano Gaetulaque reppulit arma.'

Laus Serenae, 41.

- ¹ 'ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
edomuit, Scottumque vago mucrone secutus,
fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas,
et geminis fulgens utroque sub axe tropaeis,
Tethyos alternae refluas calcavit harenas.'

III. cons. Hon. 53.

- ² 'sed laudes genitor longe transgressus avitas
subdidit Oceanum sceptris et margine caeli
clausit opes, quantum distant a Tigride Gades,
inter se Tanais quantum Nilusque relinquunt.
haec tamen innumeris per se quaesita tropaeis,
non generis dono, non ambitione potitus.'

IV. cons. Hon. 46.

These conquests exist only in Claudian's imagination.

plains¹. He alone had resisted so many calamities, restored the farmers to their fields, snatched cities from the jaws of death, and saved a shadow of the Roman name. This had won him his choice by Gratian as Emperor of the East, 379 A.D. The Empire of the West he had to win by the sword and that twice².

Theodosius realised that the empire could only be *The policy of Theodosius.* invigorated by an infusion of barbaric energy. He therefore enlisted the help of the barbarians in his army, and Alaric himself served his earliest campaigns beneath his standard. Stilicho was a Vandal, and Fravitta, a consul in Arcadius' reign, 401 A.D., an Alan. The policy was certainly not heroic, but under the circumstances it was the most discreet. The genuine Roman had lost all zeal for military service, and even the energy of the provincials had been paralysed by excessive centralisation. It was necessary to obtain soldiers from without, and the plan of settling barbarians on the frontiers and in frontier provinces, and of paying them for their services, was one which seemed able to save the empire from destruction, and might in time civilise the barbarians. Yet it was a policy which required great circumspection. The barbarian, under ordinary circumstances, was willing to defer to the Romans, whose superiority in all the arts of civilisation was undeniable. But he required to

¹ 'cum barbaries penitus commota gementem
inrueret Rhodopen et misto turbine gentes,
iam deserta suas in nos transfunderet Arctos.'

IV. cons. Hon. 51, etc.

² 'at non pars altera rerum
tradita, bis possessa manu, bis parta periclis.'

Ibid. 71.

And 'Hesperiam patrio bis Marte receptam.'

VI. cons. Hon. 91.

Cf. too, *De bello Gild. 5.*

be treated with tact and sincerity; duplicity and disregard of plighted faith might lead to a cataclysm. Later disasters happened because the sons of Theodosius were as faithless and lacking in tact as they were weak. In times of stress the empire could only survive by enlisting some barbarians to fight against others: often its own general would abuse his opportunity and secure his own terms. So Gainas, whose clumsy brutality strongly contrasts with the subtler methods of Stilicho, wrought the downfall of Eutropius, and later gained the surrender of Aurelian and Saturninus. He was in turn overcome by Fravitta an Alan, and slaughtered by Uldas, a Hun. Under a good king the system was admirable, under a weak sovereign calamitous, under either inevitable. One of the most versatile men of that day, the philosopher, bishop, and sportsman Synesius, thundered against the monstrous regiment of foreigners with something alike of Demosthenic vehemence and Demosthenic futility¹. But few had a portion of his fiery spirit. The lethargic Arcadius doubtless slept during his discourse, and his barbarian retinue accorded him an insulting tolerance.

His ministers.

Theodosius' two chief ministers, who seem designedly to have been granted an equal share of power, were Stilicho and Rufinus. Of the latter we have a brilliant but prejudiced account in *In Rufinum* i. The account of his birth is vigorous, and the supernatural personages play the parts allotted them with great spirit. Rufinus seems to have been of lowly origin and

¹ See the oration *De Regno*. If the speech was not touched up for publication, Synesius was certainly outspoken. He describes himself elsewhere as ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀγροικότερον ἐκτεθραμμένος, *De Providentia*, 18. He was the mouthpiece of that party of senators which Aurelian led, a party strongly hostile to the Goths.

to have been born at Elusa in Gascony. But the poet in the hour of triumph disdained to be prosaic¹. The Furies assemble in conclave, wroth that the united efforts of Jupiter and Theodosius have restored peace and happiness to mankind². At length Megaera tells of a wondrous fosterling of hers, who has in epitome the vices of all humanity³. He shall be introduced to the royal court, and the Fury warrants that no penetration is able to detect the mask of dissimulation which he wears. Straightway she admonishes this perverted Samuel of the future which awaits him, and after rapt admiration of one who transcended even her villainy⁴, wafts him to the city on the Bosphorus.

The correspondence of Symmachus shews, however, that in an intermediate period Rufinus was at Rome, where he probably entered the imperial service⁵. Immediately all principles of right were banished from the administration. Unscrupulousness, rapacity, violence, treachery and venality were his chief faults,—a serious reflection upon the emperor's lack of discernment, which is rather extenuated by the admission that his obsequiousness might impose upon the gravity of a Numa or a Minos. His greed led him to sell consulships and other offices which he had sought from the emperor⁶, and his power rendered it dangerous to

¹ He starts with majestic vagueness :

'est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia litus,' etc.

In Ruf. i. 123.

² 'quas Juppiter arcet Olympo

Theodosius terris. en aurea nascitur aetas.'

Ibid. 51.

³ 'solus habet scelerum quotquot possedimus omnes.' 111.

⁴ 'peiores mirata virum.' 139.

⁵ Symmachus after his death calls him a veteran freebooter ('annosus praedo'). Symmachus, III. 81-9, are letters to Rufinus.

⁶ 'ambitos a principe vendit honores.'

deny him anything. Claudian here inserts some hackneyed denunciations of wealth to which the voluptuaries of the Theodosian age surely gave little attention¹. He becomes for the nonce Seneca redivivus, and contrasts his own frugality with the lavishness of Rufinus. Rufinus' burning energy is alluded to in the phrase *impiger ire vias*, a reference to his hasty journey towards Antioch to secure the death of Lucian, and his banishment of Tatianus after the murder of his son Proculus². Compared with the savagery of Rufinus, Cinna was humane, and Spartacus a sluggard.

Here with a fine intuition of the effect of contrast, the poet confronts Rufinus with his great rival Stilicho.

Stilicho like Rufinus was a self-made man. His panegyrist passes over the deeds of his father, a leader of barbarian cavalry under Valens, whose chief title to fame was that he was Stilicho's father³. From earliest

¹ Cf. Erasmus Müller, 'de luxu aevi Theodosiani.' Theodosius restored the luxury which Julian had banished, Zosimus iv. 28, Müller, p. 8. The homilies of Chrysostom are full of denunciations of the pomp and luxury of the time, Müller, Part II. p. 143 seq., summarises the results of his inquiry into the luxuriousness of the age. Compare too Eunapius frag. 48 on Theodosius himself.

² For the banishment of Tatianus, cf. Zosimus iv. 52; for Lucian, Zosimus v. 3.

³ The panegyric on Stilicho's consulship gives us much information on this point: i. 35,

'ne facta revolvam
militiamque patris, cuivis producere famam
si nihil egisset clarum nec fida Valenti
dextera duxisset rutilantes crinibus alas
sufficeret natus Stilicho, mens ardua semper
a puero,...erectus et acer...
nullis haerere potentum liminibus...
iam tum conspicuus iam tum venerabilis ibas.'

He speaks of 'celsi nitor igneus oris,' and a god-like 'membro-rumque modus.' *St.* i. 35-47.

youth Stilicho seems to have displayed no ordinary qualities. His lofty bearing, his physical beauty, his independent spirit, and his commanding personality, were even then remarked. He entered the imperial service early, and after going on an embassy to Babylon¹, gained the high honour of Serena's hand. His first office then seems to have been *comes stabuli sacri* in Phrygia², and he was gradually advanced to higher posts by reason of his merit and industry. He was tried in crises, and as he approved himself he was placed over the head of older men³. He became *comes domesticorum equitum et peditum*, and in 385 A.D., perhaps, was appointed *magister militum per Thraciam*, an important post, in which he had to keep a close watch upon the barbarians⁴. He was later promoted to the highest command and made *magister utriusque*

¹ Keller, *Stilicho*, pp. 14–24, gives details of Stilicho's career up to the death of Theodosius. The date of the embassy he thinks was 383 A.D., not 384 A.D., as in Jeep.

² ‘dilectus equorum,
quos Phrygiae matres Argaeaeque gramina pastae
semine Cappadocum sacris praesepibus edunt,
primus honor.’

Laus Serena, 190.

³ ‘gemino mox inde e germine duxit
agmina commissosque labor sic gessit honores
ut semper merito princeps, cum magna dedisset,
deberet maiora tamen; si bellica nubes
ingrueret, quamvis annis et iure minori
cedere grandaevos equitum peditumque magistros.’

Ibid. 198.

⁴ For ‘comes’ *C. I. L.* vol. vi. 1730–4, and ix. no. 4051. In *Laus Serenae* v. 193, Keller accepts ‘cardine’ for ‘germine.’

For ‘magister,’ Zosimus v. 34, says that Stilicho was 23 years *στρατηγός*.

‘haud aliter Stilicho, fremuit cum Thracia belli
tempestas cunctis pariter cedentibus unus
eligitur ductor.’

Laus Serenae, 207.

*militiae*¹. He accompanied Theodosius on all his campaigns, as an inscription tells us, and also conducted campaigns independently².

Stilicho does not seem to have taken part in the great battle of 386 A.D. against the Gruthungs. They had crossed the Danube in a flotilla of three thousand vessels, under the leadership of Odothaeus. The vessels were sunk, the fishes were given a huge banquet, and the invasion was crushed in the early summer. Zosimus ascribes the honour of the victory to Promotus, and even Claudian does not seem to claim any of the glory for Stilicho³.

Passing by for the moment the first tyranny, we find that the antagonism between Stilicho and Rufinus now reached its height. The latter had secured his position by obtaining the banishment of Promotus, who was afterwards murdered on the Danube by the Bastarnae. There is a conflict of opinion as to whether Rufinus was privy to his death. Birt takes a passage (*In Ruf.* I. 317), referring to Stilicho's avenging a comrade 'ultra ducis socii letum,' to refer to Promotus, and Ney believes in Rufinus' guilt, but Vogt denies that Claudian refers to this. In 392 A.D. Rufinus obtained the consulship, still a great honour, and had reached the zenith of his power.

¹ VII. 4. 18, and VII. 9. 3, of the *Codex Theodosianus* shew that he had attained this office by 393 A.D.

² *C. I. L.* VI. 1730-1,

'quid enim per proelia gessi
te sine? quem merui te non sudante triumphum?'

III. cons. Hon. 145.

³ 'ausi Danuvium quondam transnare Gruthungi
in lyntres fregere nemus; ter mille ruebant
per fluvium plenae cuneis immanibus alni
dux Odotheus erat.'

IV. cons. Hon. 626.

All the credit is assigned to the auspices of Honorius who was Consul. Zosimus IV. 39 shews Promotus commanded.

But if Stilicho could not overthrow Rufinus, he was himself impregnable. He was a longed-for haven, a tower of defence, a buckler, a stronghold for the just¹. Rufinus’ confiscations, threats, and deeds of havoc, so Claudian would have us believe, were continually thwarted by Stilicho². These dissensions of the palace even broke out on the field of battle. Rufinus is depicted as levying and arraying an army against his foe. The statement made in this way must be discredited, but it seems possible to discern the truth. The Northern frontier was as usual disturbed. Goths, Sarmatians, Dacians, and Massagets, and many a tribe beloved by erudite poets, descend upon the empire, a host gathered by Rufinus³. Why the latter should wantonly descend to this purposeless treachery is not explained. He had a master after his own heart, who had favoured him with implicit confidence, and had been the architect of his fortunes. Rufinus might expect far richer rewards from Theodosius, of whose humours he had made the closest study, to whose fits of vacillation his suppleness could ever adapt itself, than from some skin-clad barbarian. The utmost that we may admit is that Rufinus would have endured with resignation the defeat and ruin of his rival, and may even, after the invasion was afoot, and after the despatch of Stilicho, have entered into communications with the enemy. Oriental satraps often

1 ‘ hic cunctis optata quies, hic sola pericli
turris erat clipeusque trucem porrectus in hostem.’
In Ruf. l. 265.

2 ‘ ditem spoliat, tu reddis egenti,
eruit, instauras,’ etc. *Ibid. 300.*

3 ‘ iamque Getas Histrumque movet, Scythiamque receptat
auxilio...mixtis descendit Sarmata Dacis,
et qui compedes in pocula vulnerat audax
Massagetes—Rufino collecta manus.’ *Ibid. 314.*

intrigued and waged war against one another without violating outwardly at least their fidelity to their master, and the position of the two ministers was analogous. Stilicho's situation would indeed have been critical, but for the courage and address of Serena, who maintained his cause with spirit, and proved an admirable Intelligence Department for her husband¹. The action of Stilicho seems to shew that even in those early times he was cultivating those Fabian tactics which he brought subsequently to such perfection. Rufinus, too, could probably do much to impair his rival's effectiveness by starving his supplies, and holding back reinforcements. Claudian hints that the emperor was duped², a grave charge. Rufinus desired delay in order to bring up Hunnish reinforcements, and an interesting description of that terrible race follows³. Stilicho prepares with great pomp and circumstance to

¹ All acclaimed Stilicho as the proper leader, *Laus Serenae*, 209 :

'nec deside cura
segnis marcet amor; laudem prudentia belli
feminea pro parte silet, dum gentibus ille
configit, vigili tu prospiciis omnia sensu,
ne quid in absentem virtutibus obvia semper,
audeat invidiae rabies neu fervor iniquus.

'tu sedula quondam
Rufino meditante nefas, cum quaereret artes
in ducis exitium coniuratosque foveret
contra pila Getas, motus rimata latentes,
mandatis tremebunda virum scriptisque monebas.'

Ibid. 235.

This passage supports the above suggestion that Rufinus took advantage of but did not foment the war.

² 'distulit instantes eluso principe pugnās
Hunnorum laturus opem, quos adfore bello
norat.'

In Ruf. i. 322.

³ 'turpes habitus obscaenaque visu
corpora; mens duro nunquam cessura labori;
praeda cibus vitanda Ceres frontemque secari
ludus et occisos pulchrum iurare parentes.'

Ibid. 328.

meet undaunted even these terrible adversaries, and appeals to Gradivus, who gladly fights alongside Stilicho, a noble pair¹. In spite of this we get merely a dissolving view of the battle, and are almost driven to infer that the coalition was worsted. Here at any rate the first book of the poem concludes most artistically with the triumph of Rufinus and injustice, and the peripeteia is reserved for the second book.

Time's oblivion is the panegyrist's surest ally. It is interesting to compare this account with that written a few years later for Stilicho's consulship. The contrast is typical of Claudian's methods. The lapse of time emboldens the poet to claim a victory. He speaks of the Visi driven back to their laagers and of the overthrow of the Bastarnae, swollen by the slaughter of Promotus, in one battle². But the fact still remains that the foe got away. They would have been annihilated had not a secret traitor beguiled the imperial ear, raised obstacles and blunted the drawn sword. Though the foes were penned in the limits of a tiny valley, they were allowed to depart by the imperial command under treaty³. This latter account is more

¹ 'hinc Stilicho turmas, illinc Gradivus agebat
et clipeis et mole pares.' *In Ruf.* i. 351.

² 'quis enim Visos in plaustra feroces
reppulit aut saeva Promoti caede tumentes
Bastarnas una potuit delere ruina.' *St.* i. 96.

³ 'milia iam pridem miseram vastantia Thracem
finibus exiguae vallis conclusa tenebas.
.....
extinctique forent penitus ni more maligno
falleret Augustas occultus proditor aures,
obstrueretque moras strictumque retunderet ensem
solveret obsessos, praeberet foedera captis.'

Ibid. 115.

This same charge, ironically enough, could well apply to Stilicho's later dealings with Alaric.

favourable to the Romans. They achieve at any rate a moral victory and dictate peace, but there is little for Megaera to triumph over.

*Stilicho
and
Rufinus
foes.*

Thus the animosity between Stilicho and Rufinus, so important a feature of the first year of Honorius, was already existent. Stilicho was valuable as a general, Rufinus indispensable as a first minister. The anecdote of Theodoret with reference to the massacre of Thessalonica, 390 A.D., throws much light on the relationship between Theodosius and his ministers. Stilicho he perhaps respected rather than loved, Rufinus was the obsequious confidant, who anticipated every wish, and smoothed away every trouble. His usefulness to an indolent nature like Theodosius' was so great, that he could scarcely have deprived himself of such welcome aid: on the other hand Stilicho's position as the husband of his beloved adopted child Serena, was also strong¹. Theodosius therefore flattered himself that he would solve the difficulty by equalising as far as could be the power of each, and giving each a free hand. The inevitable result was not, as he had hoped, that one would neutralise the other; but that when his presence was removed the dexterous and accommodating vizier proved no match for the trained administrator and the experienced soldier.

*Theo-
dosius'
weakness.*

Such a situation reflects discredit upon Theodosius. Deduct what we will from Claudian's invective as an

¹ 'ambas ille quidem patrio complexus amore
sed merito pietas in te proclivior ibat,
et quotiens rerum moles ut publica cogit
tristior aut ira tumidus flagrante redibat
.....tu sola frementem
frangere tu blando poteras sermone mederi.

Laus Serenae, 138.

allowance for the ardour of indiscriminate eulogy, the residuum of truth is serious enough. Rufinus remained to the end of the reign powerful and in high favour, entrusted by the disposition of events, if not by testamentary behest, with the guardianship of Arcadius. Subservience to favourites of his own creation, and unqualified trust in an unworthy servant, are failings which should be absent in one who had many of the credentials of a statesman. Venality is the inevitable concomitant of bureaucracy, and the best of princes have failed in their attempts to stamp corruption out. But Rufinus' passion for gain was so consuming, his rapacity so inordinate, that the supineness of Theodosius cannot be dismissed as unproven. The Lycians by one decree were excluded from all imperial offices, for the fault of one Lycian¹, and Rufinus' 'mansion' was a byword. He overthrew all his rivals save one, and established a complete system of administrative venality. We need not believe that the Golden Age had prevailed before Rufinus' advent, but we may fairly conclude that purity of administration previously difficult, became now impossible. What was perhaps more shocking was the cruelty which he displayed. But to all this Theodosius was blind, and he himself occasionally lapsed into acts of odious cruelty.

Theodosius had many difficulties in the West². Of *The* the first revolt, that of Maximus in 387 A.D., we hear *'tyrants.'* little from Claudian. It had happened some time back, and the later rebellion, which so closely preceded the death of Theodosius, claimed more of his attention. The rebellion of Maximus arose first in Britain and was the

¹ *Codex Theodosianus*, ix. 38. 9.

² 'bis possessa manu, bis parta periculis.' *IV. cons. Hon.* 74.

result of the assassination of Valentinian at Vienna 392 A.D.¹ Claudian contrasts the two rebellions in a series of antitheses. The first usurper was precipitate and dependent upon slight forces. He adopted a guerilla kind of warfare². His dominion is hastily passed over. It was to end in an ignominious rejection by the usurper's own troops³. Stripped of his insignia, 'Maximus was brought before Theodosius, who was inclined to spare him. The troops however were insistent and the usurper was put to death⁴.' Valentinian was destined to meet with a similar fate, and to be similarly avenged⁵. Arbogast, a German in high command at the palace, knowing that he could not hope for the purple, acquiesced in the part of King-Maker, and invested a puppet of his named Eugenius with the sovereignty⁶. Theodosius made great preparations to invade Italy.

¹ 'hunc saeva Britannia fudit
ausus uterque nefas domini respersus uterque
insontis iugulo.' *IV. cons. Hon.* 76.

² 'hic nova moliri praeceps, hic quaerere tuta
providus, hic fusis, collectis viribus ille,
hic vagus excurrens, hic intra claustra reductus.'
Ibid. 80.

³ 'damnat voce reos, petiit quos Marte tyrannos.'

⁴ His chief helper Andragathius, finding that all was lost, committed suicide.

'amborum periire duces, hic sponte carina
decidit in fluctus.' *Ibid.* 90.

'Dux' suggests that Andragathius stood in a somewhat similar position to Maximus as Arbogastes to Eugenius, cf. Marcell. Com. 'Andragathius comes, morte Maximi cognita, praecipitem sese e navi in undas dedit et suffocatus est.' Cf. too Zosimus iv. 47, and Orosius vii. 35; Socrates v. 14 wrongly says it was the sea.

⁵ 'solacia caesis
fratribus haec ultor tribuit; necis auctor uterque
labitur; Augustus par victima mitigat umbras.'

IV. cons. Hon. 95.

⁶ 'barbarus Hesperias exul possederat urbes
sceptraque delecto dederat Romana clienti.'

III. cons. Hon. 67.

Asia paid a large tribute of soldiers, and what was more important if Theodosius was to hope for success, a large contingent of Goths was secured. In later times when Alaric entered Italy unbidden, the reflection that the Goths had learnt the way over the Alps from Theodosius, by reason of Rome's discord, became a subject of bitter lament¹. Theodosius by his swiftness had outstripped the news of his approach, and had taken Italy all unawares. Hence there was very little difficulty in crossing the Alps, and the enemy kept to their strongholds, in which they trusted unduly². These were speedily overcome, and a battle soon took place, where the Alps narrow their approach, at their lowest point, where are the hardest barriers of piled up cliffs, bars that none but Augustus can force³. Claudian's picture of breached walls and falling towers suggests that several towns were besieged and stormed. However, the issue was decided in the battle on the river Frigidus⁴. It is interesting to find Claudian agreeing with the Christian writers in one matter. They comment on the remarkable way in which the weather

¹ ‘nunc vero geminis clades repetita tyrannis
famosum vulgavit iter nec nota fefellit
semita praestructum bellis civilibus hostem.
per solitas venere vias, aditusque sequendos
barbarico Romana dedit discordia bello.’

De Bello Gothico, 238.

² ‘victoria velox
auspiciis effecta tuis, pugnastis uterque.
te propter et Alpes
invadi faciles cauto nec profuit hosti
munitis haesisse locis, spes inrita valli
concidit et scopulis patuerunt claustra revulsis.’

Claudian claims the victory for the auspices of Honorius who was consul.

³ Panegyric on Olybrius and Probinus, 108.

⁴ The river is mentioned *III. cons. Hon.* 99.

assisted Theodosius, and ascribe this to his support of Christianity. Claudian shews that wind and weather were in favour of the emperor¹. But the difference is as significant as the agreement. The poet's expression of gratitude for one so 'beloved by heaven' is steeped in the conventional language of classical mythology. It was simply an incident which might effectively be elaborated with all the machinery of pagan personification. Christian and pagan alike drew their conflicting inferences from this providential interposition, and naturally neither convinced the other².

The battle ruined the cause of Eugenius, who was

¹ 'te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
obruit adversas acies revolutaque tela
vertit in auctores et turbine reppulit hostes.
o nimium dilecte deo cui militat aether
et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti.'

III. cons. Hon. 98.

² The attitude of the different authors is remarkable. Claudian ignores the two engagements on successive days and the hardness of the struggle. The Christian writers ascribe the victory entirely to divine aid. They therefore exaggerate Theodosius' difficulties. Socrates, v. 25, 'ὁρῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπολλυμένους ἐν μεγίστῳ ἀγῶνι γενόμενος χαμαὶ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν, βοηθὸν ἐκάλει θεὸν...ἀνεμος γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπιπνεύσας τὰ πεμπόμενα βέλη παρὰ Εὐγενίου κατ' αὐτῶν περιέτρεπεν... τοσοῦτον ἰσχυσεὶν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐχή.'

Sozomenos, vii. 24, makes his position still more critical. Only treachery delivered him : 'λογισάμενος ὅσον ἦκεν εἰς ἀνθρώπων δύναμιν, καὶ βουλομένοις μὴ δυνατὸν σώζεσθαι...πρηνὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους πεσὼν ἤσχετο, δακρύων.' The troops in the rear, however, bargain with him. Even this aid was not enough. At last 'ἀντιπροσώποις τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμβὰς ἀνεμος διέλυσε τὰς τῶν πολεμίων τάξεις, κ.τ.λ.'

Philostorgius, xi. 2, relates no miracles, but only the treachery of Eugenius' troops.

Theodoret, v. 24, says that Theodosius had only a few troops. (Claudian asserts there was a huge army. Of these two falsehoods or exaggerations Claudian's seems nearer to the truth.) Theodosius was greatly comforted by a vision of Philip and John which was seen by others. He also mentions the favouring wind. Theodosius' victory at any rate was not so simple as Claudian would imply. Stilicho was not the only person for whom he occasionally cultivated a discreet reticence.

reduced to sue for pardon¹. Arbogast, who retained his barbarian courage, could not bring himself to that humiliation, and fell upon his sword². The result vindicated the ways of Providence, and the moral which Claudian draws is that loyalty is the best policy³. Theodosius had passed over the loftiest mountains with as much ease as if they had been plains. "Pile Pelion on Ossa ye shall not make a rampart for crime." Theodosius had concealed from Eugenius the time when he intended to strike and had caught him unawares. Probably the passes were well guarded and no news penetrated into Italy.

Theodosius' statesmanship is shewn best in the liberal amnesty he gave to the followers of the tyrants. He forgot not the citizen, and exulted not o'er the fallen. He was placable, brimming over with pity, and sparing of punishment. His magnanimity gained a rich reward of loyalty and devotion for his sons, especially among the rebellious soldiers. The enactments of the Theodosian Code, which repeatedly provide that the past shall be forgotten, and even confirm many of the proceedings

¹ 'et vitam veniamque rogant.' *IV. cons. Hon. 86.*

² 'at ferus inventor scelerum traiecerat altum
non uno mucrone latus duplexque tepebat
ensis et ultrices in se converterat iras
tandem iusta manus.' *III. cons. Hon. 92.*

³ 'illi iustitiam confirmavere triumphii
praesentes docuere deos. hinc saecula discant
indomitum nihil esse pio tutumve nocenti;
nuntius ipse sui longas incognitus egit
praevento rumore vias.....
extruite immanes scopulos, attollite turres,
addite Caucasiis, involvite Pelion Ossae,
non dabitis murum sceleri; qui vindicet ibit.'
IV. cons. Hon. 109.

of the tyrants, shew that Claudian's encomium was for once justified¹.

*Theo-
dosius
death.*

Theodosius' victory was soon followed by his death. The battle took place on October 21, 394 A.D., and Theodosius died in January 395 A.D.² Feeling his end approaching, the emperor sent for his younger son Honorius, in order to invest him with the sovereignty of the West. The latter under Serena's escort³ had arrived in time to see his father alive, as Ambrose's sermon 'de obitu Theodosii' shews.

¹ 'non tamen oblitus civem cedentibus atrox
partibus infremuit.
post acies odiis idem qui terminus armis.'

² Socrates, v. 26, and vi. 1. We may note as an instance of Zosimus' inaccuracy his statement that Theodosius died at Constantinople, iv. 59.

³ 'distulit Augustus cupido se credere caelo,
dum tibi pacatum praesenti traderet orbem.'

III. cons. Hon. 109.

'ipsa per Illyricas urbes Oriente relicto,
ire Serena comes nullo deterrita casu.'

VI. cons. Hon. 92.

CHAPTER III.

Stilicho's position and claim—Alaric and Rufinus—Stilicho's first expedition to Greece and withdrawal—Assassination of Rufinus—His government—Inroads of Alaric—Stilicho's second expedition to Greece 396 A.D.—Alaric's mysterious escape.

THE death of Theodosius involved the disruption of the empire. His intention was to divide the empire between his sons Arcadius and Honorius. Unless the brothers were both free from all jealous feelings, and displayed a unanimity and sympathy rare in princes, the division of East and West was thus an accomplished fact. And the elaboration of Theodosius' precautions only promoted this result the more effectively by establishing two able men in supreme control. He had hoped to secure an undisturbed succession by balancing Rufinus against Stilicho. The impotence of Arcadius and Honorius was their safeguard. Still the jealousy of the rival ministers led inevitably to a disintegration of the empire, which even the fall of Rufinus failed to prevent.

Consequences of Theodosius' death.

*Stilicho's
claims.*

Of this division there seems no reasonable doubt¹. The friends of Stilicho indeed asserted that he alone, as a connection by marriage of the emperor, had been invested with the guardianship of both his sons; but Rufinus had been left behind at Constantinople to advise the inexperienced Arcadius, and the slightest prescience would have suggested that he would not fail to take advantage of his position and make himself independent of Stilicho. Theodosius had left Rufinus at Constantinople when he summoned Honorius, considering him no doubt indispensable. The smallest knowledge of the characters of the rivals should have shewn him that quarrels would arise. Probably Theodosius felt helpless².

¹ Eunapius, *de sent.* pp. 281-2, says the two princes were only nominally kings. Orosius, vii. 37; Philostorgius; Claudian, *In Ruf.* Preface i. 17.

‘qui stabilem servans Augustis fratribus orbem.’

In Ruf. ii. 4.

‘iamque tuis Stilicho Romana potentia curis
et rerum commissus apex, tibi credita fratrum
utraque maiestas geminaeque exercitus aulae.’ *Ibid.* ii. 6.

‘tu curis succede meis, tu pignora solus
nostra fove; geminos dextra tu protege fratres.’

III. cons. Hon. 153.

Birt thinks that this claim was not made until the death of Rufinus.

Keller, p. 27, points out that no one else was present.

‘cunctos discedere tectis dux iubet.’

III. cons. Hon. 143.

It was only a ‘politische Vertrauenstellung des erfahrenen Staatsmannes, kein Amt.’ It is evident from Claudian’s insistence that Stilicho who wished his position to be as technically correct as possible, attached great importance to this claim.

Gueldenpenning says: ‘die ihnen zufallenden Reichstelle waren ihnen sicher, wenigstens was Arcadius anbetrifft, längst bestimmt.’ G. compares the two dominions, p. 3 seq. Arcadius had the Balkan Peninsula with Asia Minor, the Tauric Peninsula, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Lower Libya and Pentapolis, Honorius the rest of the empire, a larger area. The East had better frontiers, a more uniform climate, and was more homogeneous.

² Gueldenpenning however, p. 9, says: ‘er starb vielmehr in dem guten Glauben, dass die Herrschen, seine Söhne und Nachfolger, niemals den Gedanken der Zusammengehörigkeit aus den Augen

He gave Rufinus and Stilicho¹ an equal meed of power², and trusted that the prestige of Theodosius might preserve his sons' dominion, and deter his servants from coming to open war. There was no reason, at any rate, why Stilicho should be made all powerful. Unquestioned predominance might tempt him to depose Arcadius and Honorius and to reign in his own name. The stress of circumstances, however, made Rufinus' position somewhat precarious. The forces of the East had been led to Italy against Eugenius, and Rufinus found himself denuded of troops³. Theodosius' death therefore, at this inopportune moment, left Rufinus in an unfavourable position, and one which all his dexterity and suppleness could hardly maintain against Stilicho, should he seek to make good his pretensions by arms.

The history of the struggle between the two ministers must be gleaned chiefly from the violent poem of *Claudian*, 'In Rufinum.'

verlieren, sondern stets die Gefahr des andern auch für die eigne ansehen würden.' Unity was maintained for one hundred years in the enactments. In these the names of the emperors both appear, though the laws were only binding in that part of the empire in which they were promulgated. One consul also was named by each emperor. Orosius still regarded the empire as undivided.

¹ Cf. Zosimus, iv. 57, 'ἀπέλιπεν αὐτόθι 'Ρουφίνον ἅμα τε τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχον ὄντα, καὶ ἐς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἕτερον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κυριεύοντα γινώμης. And cf. Stilicho, iv. 59, 'ἐπιδημήσας τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τὸν νιὸν 'Ονώριον ἀναδεικνυσι βασιλέα Στελιχῶνα στρατηγόν τε ἀποφύνας ἅμα τῶν αὐτόθι ταγμάτων καὶ ἐπίτροπον καταλιπὼν τῷ παιδί.' We have only Stilicho's own word for his double guardianship.

² Gueldenpenning, p. 31, says Theodosius in his anxiety must have turned to Stilicho. It is true in a sense that the empire was entrusted to him but not in 'irgend amtlichen Stellung.' As eldest kinsman Stilicho had a strong position; cf. Ambrose, *de obitu Th.* 5, 'praesenti commendavit parenti.' Richter, sec. 25, thinks Ambrose was prompted by Stilicho to say this. This is an entirely unnecessary assumption. Stilicho could influence Arcadius merely by friendly representation.

³ 'iam princeps molitur iter gentesque remotas
colligit Aurorae, tumidus quascumque pererrat
Euphrates, quas lustrat Halys, quas ditat Orontes.'

III. cons. Hon. 68-72.

Claudian, *In Rufinum*. Here the indictment is put with great force, and a more detailed account of his acts (vague and fragmentary as it is in parts) is given than elsewhere. The poem well exemplifies the methods by which we may utilise Claudian for historical purposes, and is typical of all. It is written by a contemporary for contemporaries, who are as well, or almost as well, acquainted with current events as the author himself. The chronological sequence is vague, and the assumption is that more precise indications of time can be supplied by the reader himself. For more exact information we must go frequently to other authorities, who in some respects are more explicit, and bound more stringently to strict and definite sequence. If we then go back to Claudian we shall find that in a large number of cases his statements are confirmed and more precisely dated by the other authorities.

The first book is preceded by some graceful elegiacs, in which the slaying of Rufinus is compared to the killing of the Pytho by Apollo. The poet then proceeds in a brilliant exordium to declare that the end of Rufinus has solved his doubts as to the divine government of the world, and cleared the gods¹. Long has he seen the guilty flourish, but the criminal was only exalted to fall with a heavier crash.

The first book is entirely taken up with Rufinus' acts in the reign of Theodosius, and ends with his triumph, under Megaera's patronage. It could not have been commenced before the end of 395 A.D., for

¹ 'saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem
curarent superi terras...
abstulit hunc tandem Rufini poena tumultum
absolvitque deos.'

In Ruf. i. 1-24.

Rufinus' death took place on Nov. 27, 395 A.D., at Constantinople. The preface shews that the poem was to be recited before the court¹ (*sacra caterva*), and Stilicho seems not yet to have returned.

With the second book the curtain rises upon Rufinus, who seeks to secure himself from Stilicho, now the guardian of the empire. He might justly have meditated on the insecurity of his position. At home he was surrounded by the animosity of disappointed rivals, abroad he must fear the approach of a victorious army with Stilicho at his head². Stilicho too had the Eastern troops, and Arcadius possibly did not love him. His first aim was comparatively legitimate. He sought to arrange a marriage between his daughter and Arcadius, just as Stilicho was in the future to unite Honorius with Maria³. This plan was thwarted by the dexterous intrigues of the eunuch Eutropius, who took advantage of Rufinus' absence to arrange another marriage with Eudocia. This was not solemnised until Rufinus had returned, but meanwhile he had lost his ascendancy over Arcadius, who, overcome by the charms of Eudocia, slighted the match which Rufinus desired⁴. This was a blow from which Rufinus never really recovered.

The death of Theodosius was followed by serious *Barbarian incursions*.

¹ For this use of 'sacer' cf. 'comes sacr. Larg.' 'sacra pilita,' *Epithalamium* 287, and 'sacri thalami,' *ibid.* 131; 'sacris vulneribus,' *Fescennine* I. 14.

² 'premor hinc odiis, hinc milite cingor,' v. 11; *ibid.* v. 6, quoted above, p. 54.

³ Sievers accepts this, *Studien*, p. 339.

⁴ Zosimus, v. 1-3, 'ταύτην Εὐδοκίαν ἀγαγέσθαι παρήγει τὰ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους διεξιῶν. Rufinus did not know till the last moment that another man's daughter was preferred. The marriage was celebrated on April 27; *Chron. Pasch.*

troubles from without. Asia and Thrace were invaded by several barbarian tribes¹. Some crossed the frozen Danube, others entered the empire through the Caspian Gates, and the mountainous regions of Armenia. According to Claudian's highly coloured account,

¹ *In Ruf.* II. 22,

'abrupto gentes sic obice fudit,'

'...alii per terga ferocis

Danuvii solidata ruunt.'

'alii per Caspia claustra

Armeniasque nives...iam pascua fumant,

Cappadocum...Syriae tractus vastantur amoeni.'

Sozomenos, VIII. 1, the Huns invade Armenia. Rufinus 'is said' to have summoned them, Orosius, v. 37.

Gueldenpenning rightly connects the rising with Theodosius' death, p. 2, 'der Tod dieses weit auch unter den Barbaren gefürchteten Gegners anderseits das Signal zu Aufständen in Innern wie zu Einbrüchen von Aussen geworden ist.'

Eunapius, frag. 60, shews that even under Theodosius some of the Gothic chiefs were restive and favoured war. Fravitta, later (in 401 A.D.) a consul, was the leader of the philo-Roman party. See also Zosimus, iv. 56, for an account of a brawl at a banquet in Theodosius' presence.

Jerome also gives us a passing notice of these inroads. *Epistle 60 De Nepotiano*, 'nostri temporis calamitates ut non tam plangendus sit, qui hac luce caruerit quam gratulandum ei, qui de tantis malis evaserit...' 'xx et eo amplius anni sunt qui inter Constantinopolim et Alpes Julias quotidie Romanus sanguis effunditur...Scythiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Dardaniam, Daciam, Thessaliam, Achaïam, Epirum, Dalmatiam, cunctasque Pannonias, Gothas, Sarmata, Quadus, Alanus, Hunni, Wandali, Marcomanni, vastant, trahunt, rapiunt... ecce tibi anno praeterito (395 A.D. probably), ex ultimis Caucasi rupibus immissi in nos non iam Arabiae sed Septentrionis lupi tantas brevi provincias percurrerunt, obsessa Antiocha et urbes reliquae, quas Halys, Cydnus, Orontes, Euphratesque praeterfluunt, tracti greges captivorum...nostris peccatis barbari fortes sunt, et quasi non haec sufficerent cladibus, plus pene bella civilia quam hostilis mucro consumpsit.'

So too in ep. 77, 8, he says graphically, 'ecce subito discurrentibus nuntiis Oriens totus intremuit ab ultima Maeotide inter glaciale Tanaim, et Massagetarum immanes populos, ubi Caucasi rupibus feras gentes Alexandri claustra cohibent, erupisse Hunnorum examina quae pernicibus equis huc illucque volitantia caedis pariter et terroris cuncta complent...Antiocha obsidebatur, Tyrus se volens a terra abrumpere insulam quaerebat antiquam.'

These passages shew the great impression these events made in the East. We hear little of this in Claudian.

Cappadocia and the basin of the Halys were ravaged, and all Cilicia, in spite of its mountains, was overrun. The savage hordes penetrated the smiling lands of Syria, while the Goths ravaged all the land between the Adriatic and the Euxine. The land became a wilderness even as the arid waste of Libya, and all its inhabitants fled¹. Thessaly, Pannonia, Mysia and Thrace all suffer, and even the city, which is considered a rival of mighty Rome, hears the hoarse trumpet's bray, and sees the enemy's fires. The foe's approach reduces the country to a virtual state of siege, the walls of the city are manned, the harbour barred, and, without, many heart-rending sights are seen, which fill Rufinus with a savage joy. The surrounding country, the possessions of Rufinus excluded, is ravaged².

Then at length his treasonable spirit gave itself full sway. He enjoyed free access to the enemy's camp, and frequently conferred in a pacific manner with the foe. He issued forth with a long train of clients, and—a base concession in Roman eyes—interviewed the enemy in a barbarian undress, equipped with bow and quiver³.

¹ *Ibid.* 40, 'squalet inops pecudum, nullis habitata colonis. Thesalus ardet ager,' etc.

² Claudian states, v. 61, that the city is invested. There was no formal siege but the city was practically under siege. Keller wrongly says, p. 33, that Claudian does not speak of a siege. Rosenstein regards the affair as an irregular raid.

³ *In Ruf.* II. 68–85. Schulz doubts it, p. 3, 'vix fieri potuit ut vafrae aulicorum artes plane cognoscamus.'

Zosimus could not have known of it or he would have mentioned it. Rufinus went alone. But Claudian's account is too circumstantial to be discredited. Keller does not believe that Rufinus invited the enemy. Rosenstein, p. 165, rightly says that Rufinus' motive was to prolong his political existence.

So Gueldenpenning, p. 38, 'demgemäss kann Rufinus den Aufstand der Westgothen nur mit Besorgnis begrüsst und ihn am allerwenigsten veranlasst haben.' The assumption that Rufinus called in the Huns is excluded 'ihrer inneren Unwahrscheinlichkeit wegen.'

That these invasions took place is beyond all doubt. When we come to explain them, we find that they admit of widely varying interpretations. Rufinus might call in barbarians to his aid, but they must surely prove a two-edged weapon. Such an entrance would give Stilicho the pretext for interference which he coveted. If he were victorious, Rufinus' doom was sealed, if the barbarians, the question how they were to be rewarded, might, in the very hour of victory, prove an insoluble problem. Granting that Alaric might have proved a useful ally, it is impossible to suggest any reasonable motive for the desolation of Asia. Alaric occupied an important strategical position between the two empires, and his devastations rendered it more difficult for Stilicho to approach. The harrying of Asia could only weaken the East, and there was no compensating advantage. Gainas, indeed, some years later stirred up rebellion, but the cases present only a superficial analogy. Gainas was a soldier and nothing else. Rufinus was merely a diplomat and a crafty politician¹. He was without military distinction, and apparently destitute of military aptitude. Peace would therefore serve his ends far better than war. If we accept Claudian's version of the matter, we can only regard Rufinus' step as the frenzied action of a gamester, staking all on one desperate throw. Another explanation, in our opinion more feasible, can be given. The empire was attacked simply because the situation was especially favourable².

¹ 'βαθυγνώμων ἄνθρωπος καὶ κρυψίνους.' Suidas Euripíus, *de sent.* p. 281, speaks of his 'μαλακία ψυχῆς.'

² Jordan, 50, says Alaric refused to pay tribute. But Pallmann denies that there was time after Theodosius' death. The revolt was in March. Schulz, p. 4, is wrong in saying that Alaric had been slighted. The land was exhausted, Schulz says. Claudian declares

Theodosius was dead, his heirs were weak. The army of the empire had been concentrated in Italy against the tyrant, and the forces on the Eastern and Northern frontier were considerably weakened. The exceptionally hard winter made the crossing of the Danube an easy matter, and Alaric, whom Claudian does not mention, was offended at the neglect of his claims for reward after his late services¹. Before Rufinus received such a signal rebuff, and while his own daughter was regarded as the emperor's destined bride, it was not his policy to precipitate matters. It may be that Rufinus dreaded more the stealthy intrigues of rivals at Constantinople than all Stilicho's veterans; the nearer danger always seems the greater². He could scarcely gain anything from the near approach of the Goths and their ravages. The picture which Claudian draws of a monster gloating over the sufferings of innocent people passes all belief³. Rufinus was not a compassionate man, nor was the age

that Rufinus incited the invasion. But Claudian only says that Rufinus *opened a way* to the barbarians invading Armenia and aided them. Keller, p. 30, accepts this. Rosenstein, p. 164, says Alaric's kingship was the result of Theodosius' death. Others deny this.

Gueldenpenning, p. 40, says the Goths placed Alaric at their head as king as the subsidies were not paid. The Goths had lost heavily (10,000 men) under Theodosius in the battle on the Frigidus. Zosimus, iv. 58. The situation was favourable as the garrison were absent in Italy. Cf. Jerome, ep. 77, 8, *de morte Fabiolae*, 'aberat tunc Romanus exercitus et bellis civilibus in Italia tenebatur.'

¹ Gueldenpenning, p. 40, believes that Alaric did not yet think of founding a Visigothic state upon the ruins of Rome, but only of gaining a Roman rank and a Roman command.

Sievers thinks that Claudian, *In Eutrop.* ii. 243, refers to this Hunnish inroad, and Gueldenpenning admits the possibility of this. But this seems to misread the meaning of the following lines and of lines 214-216 *ibid.*, which shew that this incursion took place after Alaric had been given Illyricum, probably a year and a half later, and that it was a punishment for Eutropius' elevation to the consulship. Perhaps these inroads were continuous, v. *ibid.* 113-4.

² He tried to get rid of Eutropius. Zosimus, v. 3.

³ 'immensa voluptas et risus plerumque subit.'

conspicuous for its humanity; but we may fairly be incredulous of this purposeless savagery. His negotiations with the barbarians were justified by the exigencies of the situation. He had no troops to cope with the Goths, and the only expedient was to buy them off. His wearing of barbarian costume, which old-fashioned Romans so bitterly resented, was only a cheap compliment; and the barbarians' abstention from devastating his lands was prompted merely by a desire thus to gain their terms. Alaric desired some official position. His approach to Constantinople was a piece of tactics employed merely to secure that end, and not with any definite expectation of capturing the city¹. Rufinus' immediate aim was to get rid of an unpleasant neighbour and this end was effected. If Rufinus had thought to gain anything by summoning Alaric, he sadly miscalculated. He had not strengthened his position in the palace, his rivals were still safe, and Alaric merely resumed his march through Greece.

*Stilicho's
first expedition to
Greece.*

Meanwhile Stilicho had a colourable pretext for interference. He started in spring, a proof that the barbarian incursions took place early in the year². Italy was pacified, and the army conciliated. According to Claudian's hyperbole, which in this case defeats its end, the army

¹ I see now that Gueldenpenning, p. 44, takes a similar view. 'Alarich C. P. nur schrecken wollte.'

² For the army, cf. 'mens eadem cunctis animique recentia ponunt vulnere,' *In Ruf.* II. 116.

'poenae parcus erat: paci non intulit iram...
hinc amor hinc validum devoto milite robur.'

Here the credit is given to Theodosius, *IV. cons. Hon.* 120; Ambrose, *de obitu Th.* 12, 13.

Pacatus, 45; Gildo, 295; Theodosius here gives the credit to Stilicho; cf. *de cons. St.* I. 151.

For the dates, *In Ruf.* II. 101,

'Zephyris cum primum bruma remitti coepta.'

was of vast proportions. East and West, Gaul and Armenia fought beneath his banners¹, and the personality of the general had united them into a harmonious whole. The same fables by which the Greeks sought to give realism to their conceptions of the magnitude of Xerxes' invading army are once again employed. Stilicho crossed the Alps², and by his presence compelled the barbarians to concentrate. They defend themselves by trench, palisade, and laager, and Stilicho prepares to give battle³.

The approach of Stilicho was watched by Rufinus in an agony of apprehension. In the poet's expressive phrase he reckons his days by the number of marches which separate him from Stilicho⁴. He enters the royal

Rufinus' action.

¹ 'nunquam tantae dicione sub una
convenere manus nec tot discrimina vocum
illinc Armeniae...Galli.' *In Ruf.* II. 106.

Similarly in a later poem, *de cons. St.* I. 152,

'certe nec tantis dissona linguis
turba nec armorum cultu diversior unquam
confluxit populus: totam pater undique secum
moverat Auroram. mixtis hic Colchus Hiberis,
hic mitra velatus Arabs, hic crine decorus
Armenius, hic picta Sacae fucataque Medus,
hic Rhodani procera cohors, hic miles alumnus
Oceani.'

Claudian improvises more daringly here.

² Stilicho crossed the Julian Alps perhaps when the sun was first melting the snow. Alaric, in trying to cross Pindus, lost heavily to burgher militia. He refuses battle, Gueldenpenning, p. 44. Socrates, VII. 10, is very confused. He outdoes Zosimus by uniting in a short compass the events 395-408 A.D. It is unsafe to follow him as von Wietersheim, sec. 116, says in opposition to Richter, sec. 51. Alaric's camp was probably on the Peneus, G., p. 44.

³ 'interea Stilicho iam laetior hoste propinquo
pugnandi cupidas accendit voce cohortes.
Armeniis frons laeva datur; per cornua Gallos
dexteriora locat.' *In Ruf.* II. 175.

⁴ 'spatioque viarum
metitur vitam, torquetur pace futura
nec recipit somnos et saepe cubilibus amens
excutitur.' *Ibid.* 140.

presence, and by skilful arguments excites the imperial jealousy. Arcadius had probably little regard for Rufinus, but the advent of one, who claimed the protectorate of the whole empire and brooked no rival, could hardly excite keen pleasure. As an alternative Rufinus advised that the Eastern legions and the Eastern share of the imperial treasure should be claimed¹. If this was conceded, the East could hope to defend itself against its adversaries. It was now hoped, no doubt, that Alaric, somewhat appeased by the gift he had received, might adopt a more pacific policy, which would render armed resistance unnecessary. This consideration, and the less worthy motive of jealousy, induced the emperor to make this claim, and to bid Stilicho evacuate Greece. Claudian with much diplomacy affects to believe that this injunction was extorted from Arcadius². But the adroit Rufinus, though in the case of a weakling like Arcadius intimidation is conceivable, could easily play upon his fear and jealousy without resorting to threats³, and neither monarch nor minister was excessively regardful of the welfare of the subjects⁴.

This command arrived when Stilicho was preparing to give battle. Claudian gives a vivid picture of the

1 'Arcadium misto terrore precatur...
et nullum vult esse parem...Eoa remittat
agmina: fraternas ex aequo dividat hastas
nec sceptri tantum fueris sed militis heres.'

In Ruf. II. 144-168.

2 'extortas invito principe voces.' *Ibid.* 170.

3 Gueldenpenning, p. 45, takes a similar line. Rufinus had still great influence and represented Stilicho's action as an affront to Arcadius.

4 Rufinus through the exigencies of the moment gave over to devastation the part of Illyria still untouched. *Ibid.* p. 45.

army in battle array, the Armenians on the left, the Gauls on the right, all eager for the combat. The brilliant description of the events following is obviously too sensational, but no doubt has a basis of fact. Stilicho's amazement and grief at this sudden frustration of his plans are portrayed with powerful rhetoric. In short sharp sentences he bids his own men retire, and the Eastern legions prepare to turn Eastward¹.

This command caused great clamour and resentment among the soldiers, who loudly express their devotion to Stilicho in words that recall the attachment of Caesar's legions to him. But Stilicho counsels obedience, and retires immediately². By what route Stilicho returned to Italy, and how Alaric acted, the poet neglects to inform us. His whole attention is concentrated, rightly from the artistic point of view, on the approaching doom of Rufinus, in which Stilicho personally played no part. The Eastern soldiers, breathing revenge, proceed from the land of Haemon and, skirting the territories of the Macetae, approach Thessalonica. As they brood over their wrongs, they prepare in inviolable secrecy—a secrecy which shall win an immortality of fame!—plans

*Stilicho's
revenge.*

¹ *In Ruf.* ii. 217,

'flectite signa, duces. redeat iam miles Eoae.
parendum est. taceant litui, prohibete sagittas.
parcite contiguo—Rufinus praecepit—hosti.'

² 'te qua libet ire sequemur.' Stilicho says, 'non est victoria tanti ut videar vicisse mihi.' Zosimus, v. 3, says plausibly that he sent the worst part back to the East through hatred of his rival. At any rate they had sadly degenerated when Eutropius needed them. Wietersheim, sec. 112, assumes that the worst soldiers were previously sent back as an escort for Theodosius' dead body, v. Socrates vi. 1. Ambrose, *de obitu Th.*, shews that the remains were taken to Constantinople. Claudian says nothing of it. Gueldenpenning, p. 45. Stilicho marched back to Salonae on the Dalmatian coast, and there watched events. The rest of the army marched by the Via Egnatia towards Constantinople.

of revenge. They pass over Haemus, leave Rhodope, and reach Heraclea beyond the Thracian heights¹.

Now Claudian with powerful irony shews us Rufinus triumphant, exulting with his satellites, and on the eve of his murder dreaming of winning the purple. On the morrow, Arcadius, accompanied by Rufinus, 'imperii certus,' goes to welcome his returning soldiers, who are ranged in a plain near the southern quarter of the city. Then while Rufinus goes along the ranks, greeting old comrades, he is, before he knows, surrounded, and at the moment he presses Augustus to declare him emperor, a mighty voice exclaims against the fond delusion². Like a beast who rushes into the arena, he stands amazed at the loud outcry and at the impossibility of escape. He is struck, and all hack at him till he is dismembered in Penthean fashion, a proceeding which the poet details with gusto³. The poet's animosity extends beyond death, and in a vision of Judgment he shews Rufinus upbraided by Rhadamanthys for his greed, and—worst deed of all—for his sale of laws, and for provoking war from the North. His enormities outbalance the whole mass of Hell's infamies, and he is driven by scourging demons to an empty gulf, deep down into which he is plunged⁴.

¹ *In Ruf.* II. 278–292.

² Rufinus says: 'vicimus, expulimus, facilis iam copia regni...nunc epulis tempus socii.' The plain was the Hebdomon. Philostorgius says: *ἐν βουνάλῳ*, Jordan 'ante portas urbis.' Zosimus, v. 7, says Gainas asked the emperor to review the troops, and that Gainas gave the watchword. Claudian simply says 'vox desuper ingens infremuit,' v. 385.

³ Socrates says on November 27. *Chron. Paschale*. Claudian does not mention the burial of Theodosius. *In Ruf.* II. 405–427 for details. Socrates VIII. 1. Philostorgius adds that he was slain at the emperor's feet.

⁴ *In Ruf.* II. 454–527.

The dramatic story of Rufinus' end is in some places *His motives.* inexplicit. The considerations which influenced Stilicho are well and concisely put: ‘hinc publica commoda suadent, hinc metus invidiae.’ It was the misfortune of Greece that the public advantage had the worst of it. If Stilicho had inflicted a decisive defeat upon Alaric and driven him out of the Empire, envy might have done its worst. Stilicho might have assumed that the command of Arcadius was not really his, and he would have merited no censure for conferring such a signal service upon the Empire¹. Two circumstances can explain his action. Alaric held a strong position, victory would not have been easy, perhaps even dubious². The envy which Stilicho dreaded was not that of the conqueror, but of the defeated and insubordinate commander. Moreover we find that Stilicho throughout his career was loth to proceed to extremes. He always preferred a diplomatic success to an armed triumph. His scruples against disobeying Arcadius seem to have been sincere but perverse. The immediate result of his timorous constitutionalism was a grave loss of credit. However, he hoped to secure his end, the union of East and West, by a more indirect method. This method was the assassination of Rufinus³.

¹ Gregorovius, *Hist. of Athens*, p. 34, puts down the disasters which followed to the treason of Rufinus, the ‘Unfähigkeit’ of Byzantine statesmanship and the Greeks’ own ‘Wehrlosigkeit.’ He seems to accept Zosimus’ version of only one expedition to Greece by Stilicho.

² ‘nec iam amplius errat
barbarus adventumque timens se cogit in unam
planitiem tutoque includit pascua gyro:
tum duplici fossa non exsuperabile vallum
asperat alternis sudibus murique locata
in speciem caesis obtendit plaustra iuencis.’

In Ruf. ii. 124-129.

³ So Simonis, *Alaric*, p. 15.

*Stilicho an
accessory
before the
fact.*

It is characteristic of the time that Claudian's whole poem is simply a glorification of a rather discreditable murder¹. That Stilicho was accessory to this can scarcely be doubted. Claudian implies at times that the soldiers' action was spontaneous². But this simply emphasises Rufinus' baseness and the soldiers' fidelity³. In reality he does not conceal the truth from us, or take any pains to deny Stilicho's complicity. The fact that the whole poem is dedicated to Stilicho, 'by whose weapons the Pythian monster has been destroyed,' is in itself sufficient to counterbalance the other arguments. Stilicho is the hero of the poem; by his agency, and by the guidance of his spirit, justice has triumphed. Such is the underlying motive of the *In Rufinum*. The most reasonable explanation of the affair is that Stilicho resolved to take advantage of the return of the legions to Constantinople to secure Rufinus' destruction—such a subtle stroke of policy as seems to have appealed to him. His chief assistant in the plan was Gainas, a barbarian who held a high command in the army. The latter is not mentioned by Claudian, who, like a true artist, allows no subordinate personage to obscure the commanding figure of the protagonist. Gainas, we may conjecture, aided by some of his subordinates, concerted the assassination, which was to take place on the first convenient occasion. Of this we get a hint in the threats of the soldiers, 'dabitur tibi debita pridem victima.' The chiefs sought on their way a 'favens odiis

¹ What Gueldenpenning calls 'Lynchjustiz.'

² *De cons. St.* ii. 212, 'aut militis ense bacchati laniant Pentheo corpora ritu.' Contrast *In Ruf.* ii. 402, a soldier says: 'hac Stilicho, quem iactas pellere, dextra te ferit.' Zosimus mentions Gainas' part, v. 7. Philostorgius also 'ἔχων ἐντολὰς παρὰ Στελιχῶνος.' He says that the soldiers thought too that he had ridiculed them.

³ *In Ruf.* ii. 276.

locus,' and the review of the returned army seemed highly suitable. The part played by the rank and file was so far merely passive. It is quite credible that they were devoted to Stilicho, and were indignant at being called back from the combat, and separated from their general. The spirit of resentment burned keenly enough. But it passes all belief that the secret was kept by a whole army and never divulged either over the bottle or in casual talk¹. When the first blow was struck, by Gainas or by one of his staff, all gladly joined in the bloody sport², but they had probably been unaware of the plot brewing. It is far more likely that a few officers surrounded Rufinus and struck at him when he was off his guard, than that a division of the army performed some elaborate evolution which brought them on all sides of Rufinus³. The question whether Rufinus was taking more active steps to gain the Empire is more difficult⁴. A man of his high position

¹ 'nec quisquam tanta de pube repertus,
proderet incautis qui corda minantia verbis.
quae non posteritas, quae non mirabitur aetas,
tanti consilium vulgi potuisse taceri,
aut facinus tam grande tegi, mentisque calorem
non sermone viae, non inter pocula rumpi?'

In Ruf. ii. 283-288.

² 'mox omnes lacerant hastis artusque tremantes
dilacerant.'

Ibid. 408, cf. Jerome, ep. 60. 16.

³ 'ille extendere longos a tergo flexus...decreescere campus
incipit et clipeis in se redeuntia iunctis
curvo paulatim sinuantur cornua ductu.' *Ibid. 375.*

Cf. Zosimus, v. 8. Philostorgius gives some additional details but is rather too dramatic. The *σπαρτόλογοι* were about to invest him with the purple. Rufinus had great confidence in his presence and personality, and this played him false. Sozomenos, viii. 1.

⁴ Sozomenos says he was suspected because of the Huns. The *Chronicum Gallicum* wrongly says 'praesidio Hunnorum superato.' Claudian does hint at the Huns, but the soldiery merely mention it apparently to goad themselves into a worse passion. Orosius, v. 37, accuses him of treason; so Philostorgius.

might easily cherish such aims, and his attempt to marry Arcadius to his daughter proves that his ambitions were similar to those of Stilicho. But no accusation against a fallen rival is more cheap than that of aspiring to sovereignty. We have scarcely anything to enable us to form any conclusion as to whether he had been guilty of any active disloyalty to secure such a position.

Rufinus' rule.

On Rufinus' administration all the evidence is unfavourable¹. To have gained Theodosius' favour would argue ability, his energy too is undoubted, but no writer has a word to say in his favour. It seems that judgment must go by default. He took advantage of Theodosius' laxness to amass a fortune considerable even in that age². His administration was very unpopular at Constantinople, and the popular hatred of him is shewn in Claudian, whom Zosimus confirms. Those who flattered him in the heyday of his power, as Symmachus, turned upon him when he fell. As far as we can gather from the *Codex Theodosianus*, his régime was less beneficial to the East than Stilicho's to the West. He seems to have been possessed with a frenzy against heretics, which contrasts with Stilicho's indifference. This policy may have been adopted from a desire to strengthen himself by enlisting the support of the Church. But Christian and heretic alike speak ill of him, and it is only the excess of Claudian's

¹ Zosimus, v. 7, says he was the cause of 'κακῶν ἀφορήτων.'

² This Eutropius converted in its entirety to his own uses. See an amusing edict, ix. 42. 14, where those whom Rufinus oppressed are told that as they neglected to claim their possessions when Rufinus was powerful, all must go to the imperial chest. The power of the praefectus praetorio was also diminished. Gueldenpenning, p. 49. Eutropius did not hold this office and therefore skilfully availed himself of the odium Rufinus had brought upon it to limit its powers.

vituperation which leads us to doubt whether all the charges brought against him had a true foundation¹.

It is obvious that the poem could not have been written before the beginning of 396 A.D. The two parts might have been published at different times. Book I implies that it is to be recited before the court. The second book was not written before the devastation of Greece in the following year, 396 A.D.² The preface to this book, which was no doubt written last, implies that Greece is now free from the invader, and that Stilicho is enjoying a brief respite from warfare³. As the preface is to be recited before him, it may be as late as 397 A.D. as Birt suggests. The cares which Claudian mentions may be trouble in Africa, or from Alaric, or, more generally, the ordinary business of administration. Africa was not yet in open revolt. It is highly probable that the poem was Claudian's first bid for Stilicho's patronage, and that he succeeded by this means in ingratiating himself with Stilicho, and

*Date of
poem.*

¹ Of modern critics Pallmann, p. 214, thinks he ought to be more favourably considered than he is by Gibbon. Vogt. The universal agreement is not to be set aside. So Schulz, p. 2. Ambrose in earlier times was friendly with him: Ep. 50, quoted by Tillemont, 5. 422. But he rebuked him for his share in the massacre at Thessalonica, Theodoret tells us.

² ‘si tunc his animis acies collata fuisset
prodita non tantas vidisset Graecia caedes,
oppida semoto Pelopeia Marte vigerent,
starent Arcadiae, starent Lacedaemonis arces.’

v. 189.

³ ‘immensis Stilicho succedant otia curis.
nec pudeat longos interrupisse labores
et tenuem Musis constituisse moram.’

Preface, v. 16.

Cf. too v. 3,

‘nulla per Aonios hostilis bucina campos
carmina mugitu deteriore vetat.’

obtaining notice at court. If the plea for the simple life¹ advanced in the second book has any personal bearing, it would shew that Stilicho was not yet a court satellite. Indeed the passage might be a delicate hint that a rich patron would not be unacceptable.

*Alaric left
in possession.*

Alaric was thus left for a season in undisturbed possession of Greece, a fact of which he soon gave ample proof. For the circumstances connected with his stay and his final expulsion, and for the length of his sojourn, both contemporary literature and later historians leave us very much in the dark. As the events which took place were in no way glorious, Claudian is discreetly silent. There was no cause for another panegyric on the second expedition to Greece, for this did not even result in a rival's assassination. The cue for the court circle was to ignore all details, and to confine itself to generalities on the Roman general's mercy in sparing his discomfited enemy. With the aid of time, Stilicho's success attained greater proportions. When the facts were not so vividly remembered, and the discredit had been wiped out by more signal successes, Claudian could speak of Gothic waggons swimming in blood, of the mowing down of skin-wearing youths, of choked rivers, and of forests unequal to the demand for funeral pyres². Stilicho,

¹ *In Ruf.* i. 196-219,

'haec si nota forent, frueremur simplice cultu,'

the exact equivalent of the modern phrase.

²

'te memor Eurotas...modulatur...

...quod te pugnante resurgens

aegra caput mediis erexit Graecia flammis.

plurima Parrhasius tunc inter corpora Ladon

haesit et Alpheus Geticis angustus acervis.

tardius ad Siculos etiamnunc pergit amores.'

De cons. Stil. i. 181-187.

however, effected nothing. Alaric withdrew to Illyricum after Greece had been thoroughly wasted, and there organised his forces for a future invasion of Italy.

It is one of the ironies of the situation that we are reduced to relying almost entirely on Zosimus, who indiscriminately combines the accounts of Stilicho's two expeditions into one which happened before the death of Rufinus¹. Few critics have accepted this view², and all the authorities agree in placing the death of Rufinus in 395 A.D. We shall therefore assume that Stilicho came to Greece again after Rufinus' death.

Alaric had been left by Stilicho in Thessaly. The *Alaric's ravages.* key to Southern Greece was then, as in the time of Xerxes, Thermopylae. This was held by a garrison under the command of Gerontius. He had been placed there by Rufinus to further his designs against the State, and thus many evils were wrought upon the Roman supremacy³. Doubtless he and Antiochus, the proconsul of Greece, were placed in control of Greece by Rufinus. It was desirable from his point of view that the provinces should be in the hands of his supporters. We cannot, however, infer that their instructions were to allow the barbarians free passage. If it is safe to base an argument on a comparative, their villainy exceeded Rufinus' anticipations. At any rate the pass was abandoned, before the enemy were

¹ Our difficulties are due to what is almost a 'conspiracy of silence.' We have to rely on vague hints only from Claudian.

² Simonis, p. 16. Claudian's account of two expeditions 'scheint zu sein nicht allein der vollständigere sondern auch der glaubwürdiger.'

³ Zosimus, v. 5. These men are described as 'πονηρότεροι ἢ ἐβούλετο.'

at hand, or after a feeble struggle¹. Then followed a systematic devastation of Boeotia, and the other countries this side of Thermopylae. Towns were sacked, their defenders butchered, the women and children driven in captive herds. Thebes being fortified escaped, and Alaric was anxious to reach Athens. There is a divergence of opinion as to the fate of Athens. Zosimus, a staunch believer in the ancient gods, asserts that Athens, the place where the remnants of the ancient system were strongest, owed its escape to the interposition of Athene in her panoply, and Achilles, furious as when he avenged Patroclus. And thus, although he had believed that the extent of its walls would make Athens an easy prey, Alaric lent a ready ear to the Athenian propositions. The town was spared. Alaric entered with only a small retinue. He bathed, dined, and departed, leaving Attica unhurt².

¹ Cf. Eunapius, *Vita Maximi*, p. 52; also *frag.* 65. Claudian just mentions it in a later poem :

‘ipsae quae durius olim
restiterant Medis, primo conamine ruptae
Thermopylae: vallata mari Scironia rupes
et duo continuo connectens aequora muro
Isthmos et angusti patuerunt claustra Lechaei.
nec tibi Parrhasios licuit munire colonos
frondosis Erymanthe iugis, equitataque summi
culmina Taygeti trepidae vidistis Amyclae.’

Bell. Get. 193.

Eunapius says it was done easily. Zosimus says that Alaric announced his arrival, and the imperial commanders then retired.

Simonis, trusting too much to Zosimus, says Alaric must have gone through Thermopylae while Rufinus was alive, before the end of November 395, p. 16. This is quite possible, but his argument is inconclusive, if we hold Rufinus not responsible for the surrender of the pass. ‘Dass Antiochus von Rufin. Befehl halte keinen Widerstand zu leisten ist ebenso wenig anzunehmen, als dass Gerontius war den wichtigen Durchgang ohne Kampf frei zu geben.’ Gueldenpenning, p. 50. So Bury.

² See Zosimus, v. Claudian implies that Athens suffered more : ‘nec fera Cecropiae traxissent vincula matres.’ This may only refer

The account is obviously suspicious. Yet Athens seems to have been treated with exceptional lenity. Alaric appears to have spared the city, which must have been surrendered to him, out of reverence for its venerable past. It escaped the horrors of a sack, perhaps even of a Gothic entry, but Alaric assuredly brought with him a strong guard for his own protection. The statement that Attica was unhurt can only be comparatively true. The passage of the Gothic bands, and their delay around Athens must have left its mark on the land.

The Megarid was next approached and occupied. At the Isthmus the Imperial generals again granted Alaric a free passage. Most of the cities of the Peloponnese were now unfortified. Corinth was taken by force, Argos, and the towns between Argos and Sparta, experienced a like fate. Sparta did not escape. It was unfortified, and its population was apparently lacking in military spirit¹. Claudian confirms this by a passage in which he alludes to the sufferings of the towns of Pelops, the fall of places in Arcadia and Lacedaemonia, and to the burning of Corinth. Another passage shews that many captives were taken.

The Peloponnese entered.

to Attica and does not imply that Athens was taken necessarily. Gueldenpenning thinks these calamities happened after Alaric's withdrawal.

Philostorgius says outright 'Αθήνας εἶλον.' This is only true in a sense. Gueldenpenning assumes, p. 51, that Philostorgius wrote 'Athens' but meant Piraeus. Eunapius, *Vita Prisci*, p. 57, shews that the barbarians did some mischief. The philosopher Proterius was slain by them. Jerome, *ep.* 60, written 396, 'Athenienses quibus imperant barbari.' Rosenstein, p. 175, rightly says that Alaric must have required more than a bath and a banquet.

¹ Zosimus, v. 6; *In Ruf.* II. 187-190; *de Bell. Get.* 188-193; *ibid.* 611-2 is a reference to the spoil, which may not be a mere fanciful embellishment:

'miserisque graves crateras ab Argis
raptaque flagranti spirantia signa Corintho.'

One is perplexed at the silence concerning the Roman army, which melts into thin air after the surrender of the Isthmus¹. Perhaps the generals and officers were permitted to escape by sea, and the rank and file, chiefly barbarians, were enlisted by Alaric, but as to this we may only conjecture. The failure of the Court to send help may be due, as Koch suggests, to the inroads of the Huns in Asia Minor². Now that Stilicho had sent back the borrowed legions, the East was certainly better provided with troops. It might also be suggested that for such strong places as Thermopylae and the Isthmus, the troops under Gerontius were quite sufficient, and that the treachery of the commanders was a surprise to Constantinople³.

*Stilicho's
second ex-
pedition.*

Stilicho resolved to confront Alaric again in Greece. His reasons are unknown to us. It is not stated that his help was requested by the East, which had so lately ordered him to leave its territory. And spontaneous action on his part seems unlikely after his previous withdrawal from Greece, of which subsequent events were the inevitable consequence. The relationship of Stilicho and Eutropius, who had stepped into Rufinus' shoes, are at this time wrapped in mystery. Until Eutropius was supreme, he had worked in concert with Stilicho, but the understanding must gradually have lapsed. Stilicho may have thought that the East under Eutropius needed less deference than under Rufinus. Whatever his motives were he marched against Alaric, with an army entirely his own, hoping perhaps to win Illyricum for the West.

¹ According to Eunapius many were slain.

² Koch, *Rheinisch. Mus.* XLIV. p. 587 seq.

³ Pallmann, I. 246, suggests unnecessarily that Gainas mistrusted them.

The journey was this time made on shipboard¹. The passage was favourable and the troops disembarked at Pholoe. The barbarians were compelled to retreat, and were surrounded by the Roman forces. Though the stories of huge slaughter may be discredited, Stilicho seems to have gained a considerable tactical advantage in Arcadia². But again the barbarians escaped to Epirus³. Such an escape argues connivance on the part of Stilicho, especially as the Goths seem to have crossed the Gulf of Corinth by ship to Epirus, a course which the Roman fleet acting in concert with the army should have prevented. The Goths, who were no seamen, could hardly cope with the Romans on the water.

Stilicho seems to have been satisfied by such a success. It is far more difficult to explain his action on this occasion than on the former. If he had come

*Stilicho's
mysterious
action.*

¹ Zosimus, v. 7. (He of course mentions only one invasion.)

There is a curious passage, *IV. cons. Hon.* 459-473. Here Claudian himself mentions only one invasion, by sea.

‘Ionium tegitur velis ventique laborant
tot curvare sinus.’

Yet *In Ruf.* ii. 124 shews Stilicho also went by land. This illustrates the difficulties of the period. Claudian suggests the landing was at Corinth, others Pholoe, but Pholoe is a mountain, not a port. Gueldenpenning remarks that Stilicho could not bring so many soldiers by ship.

² ‘plaustra cruore natant, metitur pellita iuventus,
pars morbo, pars ense perit, non lustra Lycæi
non Erymantheæ iam copia sufficit umbræ...
uno colle latent, sitiens inclusaque vallo
ereptas quaesivit aquas, quas hostibus ante
contiguas alio Stilicho deflexerat arcu,
mirantemque novas ignota per avia valles
iusserat averso fluvium migrare meatu.’

IV. cons. Hon. 461-483.

³ Jeep thinks the battle was at the mouth of the Alpheus, as the Goths went to Epirus, and not at Corinth. Pallmann, 216. Keller, p. 34. Claudian says in Arcadia.

in disregard of Arcadius' wish¹, why did he suddenly falter, if he wished to deliver the East? why was his purpose left unaccomplished? There must have been much underhand dealing, and we can scarcely hope now to recover the truth. There was an understanding perhaps that Alaric should have a royal command in Illyricum and should retire there, a plan to which both East and West assented for different reasons. Zosimus attributes the escape to other causes. Stilicho gave himself up to luxury and sensual indulgence, and his soldiers engaged in freebooting expeditions. If this story has any foundation, this laxness was allowed simply to assist the barbarians' retirement. Stilicho

¹ Later he claimed to have obeyed Arcadius always, 'quando non ille iubenti paruit?' *Bell. Gild.* 290, cf. *Bell. Get.* 513-517:

'scis ipse per oras

Arcadiae quam densa rogis cumulaverit ossa,
sanguine quam largo Graios calefecerit amnes,
extinctusque fores, ni te sub nomine legum
proditio regnique favor texisset Eoi.'

This suggests a royal command.

Keller, p. 34, suggests that Alaric was dismissed as a future implement by Stilicho; Koch, Stilicho met treachery with teachery. Vogt, Alaric 'ingenii sui copia summo discrimine se expediit.' Schulz thinks that there was a 'pactum' and disbelieves the charges made against Stilicho by Zosimus. 'Zwischen beiden Höfen herrschte Eifersucht, zwischen beiden Ministern Feindschaft. Stilicho war es nicht darum zu thun Alarich zu vernichten und das oströmische Reich von einem Feinde zu befreien; es genügte ihm dann, dem Alarich zu zeigen dass das weströmische Reich mehr zu fürchten sei und es ihn von Italien selbst fern zu halten.' Both courts had Illyria in common and both recognised him. We must assume this in spite of Claudian's denial. Stilicho wished to bind Illyria to the West. Simonis, pp. 23, 24. This explanation of Stilicho's motives is as plausible as any.

Guelddenpenning, p. 53, denies that Constantinople prevented Stilicho from expelling Alaric. It is scarcely credible, 'da der Rufinus Erbschaft am Hofe antretende Eutropius kein Gegner Stilichos war.' We cannot ascribe the act to Gainas either. Both Alaric and Stilicho desired peace. Bury, *Later Empire*, p. 67, suggests a secret arrangement at Pholoe. Stilicho hoped that the Balkans might become the appanage of Eucherius and win over Alaric. This is of course only a conjecture.

then sailed back, having done greater harm than Alaric to Greece by the soldiers he had brought with him. So says the enemy of Stilicho, his admirer declares that Greece at last could breathe again. Curiously enough he omits altogether to tell us how this had been achieved.

The question whether Alaric destroyed the remnants of the ancient religion has been discussed. Eunapius says that Alaric was accompanied by men *φαιὰ ἱμάτια ἔχοντες*, a phrase which has been taken to refer to monks. These men persuaded him to do violence to the ancient laws and traditions. But Alaric shewed at Athens that though an Arian, he could revere the relics of the past. The ancient religion was in the last stage of decrepitude, and the violent hand was scarcely needed to put an end to a moribund superstition. We may, therefore, conclude with Gregorovius that Alaric shewed a tolerant spirit¹.

The date of this expedition has been much discussed. *The date.* Birt and Koch following Gibbon put it in 397 A.D. while others place it in the previous year². Chronological indications are vague or absolutely lacking. A letter of Jerome, generally dated 396 A.D.³, shews

¹ Eleusis was destroyed, Gregorovius, *Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 37. Sievers, p. 347. Synesius calls Athens 'vacuae,' i. p. 52. There was no open worship, but temples remained. Greece did not recover from this inroad for one hundred years. Gueldenpenning.

² So Schulz. He thinks that Stilicho put in at Corinth; and Keller, p. 33, and Rosenstein, p. 178. Jeep puts it in 395, and believes that there were two separate expeditions in one year. Birt and Koch place it in 397 A.D.

³ *Epistle* 60. 'Corinthios,' etc., 'quibus imperant barbari.' A letter of Symmachus, iv. 10, usually assigned to 396 A.D., shews Stilicho was absent: 'de legatione mittenda ob angustias frumentariae rei usque ad reditum viri excellentissimi comitis tractatus publicus differetur.'

CHAPTER IV.

The Gildonic revolt, 397 A.D.—Invasion of Africa, 398 A.D.—Size of army—Mascezel—*De Bello Gildonico*—IV. cons. Hon.—Its date 398 A.D.—Honorius' marriage—Gildo's overthrow—Orosius' account—Mascezel's fate.

ON the assumption that Stilicho's second expedition *Gildo*. should be assigned to the year 396 A.D. we have an interval of about a year, of which we hear little from the ancient authorities. Eutropius succeeded Rufinus, without any improvement of administration¹. To strengthen his position he entered into communication with Gildo the count of Africa. The latter was the successor of his brother Firmus in the government of Africa², an office he had now held for nearly twelve years. He had received the office as a reward for services to Theodosius, but even during the latter's reign had manifested a certain faithlessness. When Eugenius seized Italy, Gildo remained neutral, awaiting the event. He did not at once openly break the

¹ *Notitia* II. c. 23. *Codex Theod.* IX. 7. 9.

² *Ammianus Marc.* 29. 5. 14.

'iam solis habenae
bis senas torquent hiemes.'

Bell. Gild. 154.

connection which subsisted between Africa and the Western Empire, but he was remiss in despatching supplies of corn, for which Italy was now entirely dependent on Africa¹. The letters of Symmachus shew that the winters of 395 and 396 A.D. brought great anxiety to the administrators who superintended the 'annona' of Rome². And now Gildo began to act more boldly. He decided that the nominal suzerainty of an eunuch at Constantinople was far preferable to the more real dominion of the ruler of the West. He concluded an alliance³ by which, in return for an empty homage to Arcadius, he was relieved from the irksome duty of paying a tribute of corn to Rome. Thus without any open defiance of the Roman name, Gildo became virtually an independent prince⁴.

*A crisis
at Rome.*

The strength of Gildo's position lay in the needs of Rome. Africa had long been Rome's granary, and her dependence on another part of the Empire for her corn

¹ 'solus at hic non puppe data, non milite misso
subseduit fluitante fide.'

Bell. Gild. 247.

² VI. 12, 'patriae vero nostrae inter cetera frumentariae penuriae mala legationis ambitus nequiores facem subdidit... orta certatio usque ad nefarias pugnas me absente processit. pudet dicere quae in se optimates senatus crimina et maledicta proiecerint.'

VII. 13, 'nobis tardior Africanarum navium commeatus incutit curas atque sterilitas conditorum; quapropter ad conlationem vocati remedia patriae usitata promissimus.' So too VI. 18.

VIII. 65 shews trouble was expected.

VI. 26 suggests that there was a similar difficulty in 396 A.D.

³ 'Gildonis taceo magna cum laude receptam
perfidiam et fretos Eo robore Mauros.'

In Eutr. I. 400.

⁴ 'quamvis obstreperet pietas his ille regendae
transtulerat nomen Libyae scelerique profano,
fallax legitimam regni praetenderat umbram.'

Claudian hints that the East went to work with guile. Attempts were made, it seems, to assassinate Stilicho.

supply made it advisable to maintain a conciliatory attitude¹. But after the open rupture, Rome's very dependence rendered it necessary for Stilicho to take the most vigorous measures to re-establish former relations, for Gildo might have dictated his own terms, had not speedy action been taken. The populace of Rome, deprived of their customary dole, would rise in riots, to the great alarm of the senate. Gildo's renunciation of loyalty took place at the most convenient moment (for him), at the time when the new harvest was due². The immediate necessities of Rome were supplied by corn hastily procured from Gaul and Spain³, and Stilicho at once took steps to gain the sympathy and co-operation of the senate, by paying them unusual deference. The senate was requested by the imperial injunction to consider the oppression of Africa, which had endured for the last twelve years, and a string of charges against Gildo was recited. An interesting letter from Symmachus to Stilicho confirms Claudian's statements, and gives us some details with regard to their action. The senate thus consulted condemned

¹ The political situation is clearly put, *VI. cons. Hon.* 103. Alaric threatened too.

'duo namque fuere
Europae Libyaeque hostes; Maurusius Atlas
Gildonis Furias, Alaricum barbara Peuce
nutrierat...alter praecepta vocantis
respuit auxiliisque ad proxima bella negatis
abiurata palam Libyae possederat arva.'

² 'quae suscepta fames, quantum discriminis urbi
ni tua vel sacri nunquam non provida virtus
Australem Arctois pensasset frugibus annum,
invectae Rhodani Tiberina per ostia classes
Cinyphiisque ferax Araris successit aristis.'

German corn too is mentioned, in *Eutr.* i. 401-409.

³ Cf. *Bell. Gild.* 16,

'quem veniens indixit hiems, ver perculit hostem.'

Gildo, enthusiastically supported the imperial action, and also deprecated the ill-feeling prevailing between the two parts of the Empire. A 'supplicatio' for the security of the corn supply was also decreed in ancient form¹. Symmachus' letter shews how little Rome had changed with the centuries; he is possessed by an absorbing parochialism².

The invasion of Africa.

A verse of Claudian enables us to date this letter to the autumn of 397 A.D. It was now too late for an expedition to Africa, but preparations were actively made for an invasion in the spring of 398 A.D.³. Of this we have notices in Orosius (who living in Africa might have given us valuable information), Zosimus, Jordanes, and some of the Chroniclers⁴. The poem of Claudian ends abruptly with the first book, though we can supplement this with 150 lines in the first book of the panegyric upon Stilicho and other stray notices. Our authorities leave many points obscure and controverted.

¹ *De cons. St.* i. 325 :

'hoc quoque non parva fas est cum laude relinqui
quod non ante fretis exercitus adstitit ultro,
ordine quam prisco censeret bella senatus...'

'Romuleas leges rediisse fatemur.' Symmachus, *Ep.* iv. 4.

² Symmachus' complaisance in this affair had for him a distressing result. He had to leave Rome; such was his temporary unpopularity. *vi.* 66.

³ The senators lamented that their privileges were trenched upon. *vi.* 64 : 'mihi ob alia quoque aegre est turbas patriae cogitanti, quas praecipue movent in usum militare petita servitia.' But concessions were made, *Codex vii.* 13, 12 and 13. The senators were allowed to redeem recruits at a fixed price. Florentinus was thought indolent but Lampadius imparted greater vigour to the administration; though Symmachus speaks satirically of men's foolish expectations, 'cuius moribus crediderunt impossibilia promoveri.'

⁴ Jordan and the Chroniclers are of little value, Marcellinus follows Orosius sometimes verbatim. Claudian, *In Eutr.* i. 399; *ii.* pref. 69; *de cons. Stil.* ii. 210; *VI. cons. Hon.* 103 and 377.

The *de Bello Gildonico* was probably written as it purports to be very shortly after the arrival of tidings of a great victory. There can be no doubt of the sincerity of the jubilation with which he and all other Romans hailed the happy issue. The contingency of virtual starvation, of a whole country under siege, and Rome's happy deliverance from the horrors of famine, excited his imagination and gave rise to some of his finest lines. It is a revelation all the more striking as it is unconscious of Rome's decline, that a poet's loftiest flight should be inspired by such an inglorious theme as the stoppage of the corn supply¹. The poem starts like a breathless bulletin from the field of victory. In short panting sentences we hear how the South is restored to the Empire, Europe again united to Africa. One message tells of battle, flight and capture². The enemy who was announced by approaching winter, spring has overthrown.

Then the usual mythological machinery is brought on the stage. Rome, dreading destruction, wasted by privations, hastes to heaven with suppliant mien, emaciated, with sunken cheeks, loose helm and rusty shield. She laments woes at which a Goth or Suebian would shed tears, a mortal contagion, heaps of dead, a tainted atmosphere, and abnormal floods. To this succeeds a disquisition on the corn supply, which, despite the theme, is neither prosy nor uninteresting³. Rome's supplies are now derived from Africa alone,

¹ He says elsewhere, *de cons. Stil.* I. 368-385: 'hic stabat Romana salus.' *Ibid.*:

'hic vincere tarde
vinci paene fuit,...quis Punica gesta
quis vos Scipiadae, quis te iam Regule nosset,
(si) insultaret atrox famula Carthagine Maurus?'

² 'congressum profugum captum vox praedicat una.' v. 12.

³ vv. 49-127.

Constantinople has claimed Egypt for herself. Rome is always in need, at the mercy of wind and season. At the fall of autumn Gildo had suddenly cut off all supplies, and Rome vainly strains her eyes to descry some ship approaching. Rome is, as it were, besieged, the imperial people, long ruler of the world, has but a few days' rations. Rome is helpless and desolate, age that has served its turn receives no guerdon¹.

These vigorous lines are followed by as striking an appeal from Africa itself, whom Claudian adroitly brings on the scene to voice her cry for rescue from Gildo's grasp. She is treated like a piece of private property. All from Nile to Atlas is in bondage to him—a third of the world subject to one bandit².

Like other powerful men of the time, Gildo is the slave of his vices. He is at once lavish and rapacious, sensual and ruthless. No hour affords a respite. Lust takes the place of greed, 'divitibusque dies et nox metuenda maritis³.' He employs informers as did Rufinus, to procure unjust condemnations, but he outstrips even him in refinements of cruelty. One of his delights was to gloat upon the agony of his victims, condemned to talk about the weather⁴ to one who suspended the sword of Damocles above them. His licentiousness gained an added zest from the outrages which he inflicted upon noble matrons, his minions

¹ 'ast ego quae terras umeris pontumque subegi
deseror; emeritae iam praemia nulla senectae.'

Bell. Gild. 115.

² 'hoc sibi transcripsit proprium; pars tertia mundi
unius praedonis ager.'

Ibid. 161.

³ v. 168.

⁴ 'de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimbo vero locuturi.'

Juvenal iv. 87, 88.

were enriched by the spoil of old inhabitants dispossessed, and many were driven into exile¹.

Jupiter promises redress and sends the Theodosii to the rival courts to secure harmony². Theodosius the Great repairs to Constantinople and gently chides his son for his lack of fraternal regard, for his alliance with one who had stayed gazing on fate's watch-tower, and left the event to decide his policy, a client of strong battalions, the liegeman of the conqueror³. Many have availed themselves of treachery, but all have hated traitors; justice should not yield to advantage. Let not Gildo bestow Africa on whom he will, an empire which ebbs and flows with fortune's tide, but let fraternal amity return once more. And then he proceeds to vindicate Stilicho (this apology for Stilicho is skilfully put in the mouth of Theodosius). His deference to Theodosius was ever remarkable; none was more devoted to his house. Great had been his skill in pacifying the troubled empire, he had cherished with a father's affection the tender years of Honorius, and developed him to the true stature of an emperor⁴. He had overthrown Rufinus, surely a merit in Arcadius'

¹ 'proturbat avita
quemque domo; veteres detrudit rure colonos
exilio dispersa feror.' *Bell. Gild.* 199.

² Lugetti finds in this episode a truly Virgilian imagination. It is imitated, he says, by Tasso in Canto xx. of *Jerusalem Liberated*.

³ 'restitit in speculis fati...
ad rerum momenta cliens seseque daturus
victori.' *Ibid.* 252.

⁴ 'cum divus abirem
res incompositas, fateor, tumidasque reliqui...
tum ipse paterna
successit pietate mihi tenerumque rudemque
fovit et in veros eduxit principis annos.'
'Rufinumque tibi, quem tu tremuisse fateris
depulit.' *Ibid.* 288-320.

eyes. He alone has remained faithful to the principles of the Theodosian policy, has assisted in the execution of all the deceased emperor's projects, and now reveres him as a god. Moreover he is the father-in-law of an emperor. Well has his mettle been tried; his judgment, his resolution are equal to every chance, virtue will ever make its way.

To this appeal there could be but one answer. Arcadius promises obedience, vows affection to Stilicho, and cedes Africa to his brother¹ Honorius. Honorius needed stimulus not reproaches. His grandsire approaches him, bids him attack the rebel, and make him captive. The house of Theodosius is fatal to the house of Firmus. Join to the spoils of Firmus the triumph of Gildo.

Honorius is smitten with the desire to exact vengeance in person, but Stilicho dissuades him. The pitched battle, he truly says, knows no law of treason, the adversary is unworthy. Attend to me²; rather let Mascezel, his brother, but a very different man, be the instrument of Destiny. He had fled from Gildo and sought refuge in Italy from his machinations. The contrast will only heighten the change of fortune, and Gildo shall learn that he is less than a suppliant of Honorius (a sophist's argument not a statesman's).

Preparations.

To this Honorius agreed. Picked troops were collected and a fleet was fitted out³. Claudian tells us that the legions which served were the Herculean, the

¹ 'redeat iam tutior Africa fratri.' *Bell. Gild.* 324.

² 'sensus adverte.' Is this a hit at Honorius' dulness and inattention?

³

'notissima Marti

robora praecipuos electa pube maniplos
disponit portuque rates instaurat Etrusco.'

Ibid. 417.

Jovian, the Felix, the Augusta, the Invicta, and the Lion¹.

The question of the numbers of the army sent is *The numbers.* difficult. Orosius alone gives a definite number (5000) while Zosimus says that Stilicho prepared *δυνάμεις*². The number of troops, if we may judge from the legions which Claudian mentions, must have been more than 5000, though the strength of a legion had decreased, and perhaps only detachments were present in the army³. Orosius' numbers cannot be regarded as deserving of entire credence on the strength of a vague 'ut aiunt.' In the first book on Stilicho, Claudian gives us a picture of Stilicho's activity which does not accord with the despatch of merely 5000 men. Stilicho is assiduous in procuring corn supplies, building ships, levying troops (of this we find traces in the Theodosian Code), and recalling veterans to the

¹ 'Herculeam suus Alcides Ioviamque cohortem
rex ducit superum.....
Nervius insequitur meritusque vocabula Felix
dictaque ab Augusto legio nomenque probantes
invicti clipeoque animosi teste Leones.'

Bell. Gild. 423.

² This can only mean 'probatus' according to Schulz, but he also says, p. 76, that Zosimus was well instructed and the East would know, which is doubtful. This is an example of Zosimus' careless and inaccurate statements. Vogt, p. 71. Orosius says his statement is protected from 'mentiendi suspicione' by 'conscientia eorum qui interfuerunt.'

³ Claudian uses the words 'legio' and 'cohors' very loosely. Seeck examines the matter, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 1884. He examines the Notitia Dignitatum and thus finds that they 'wenig mehr als 10,000 Krieger ausmachen mochten.' As regards Pisa being filled with transports, a point of which Vogt makes much, 5000 men would fill 50 transports, which would make a good appearance. Only one legion is mentioned. (It may be added too that Claudian seems to use terms like legio, cohors, etc., almost as synonyms, as a study of the index to Claudian shews.) Seeck identifies the various detachments by the aid of the Notitia.

standards¹. Stilicho improvised an army so speedily that Claudian ventures to compare the feat to the sowing of the dragon's teeth. Yet he admits later that though he could have flooded Libya with troops he abstained from doing so. The motive, a desire not to terrify the enemy prematurely, may seem insufficient, but the fact that Mascezel and not Stilicho commanded an expedition which was certainly fraught with vital issues to Italy, shews that some circumstance of which we know little, hindered Stilicho from invading in person, and caused him to keep himself in reserve for other contingencies. We may therefore conclude with Vogt that Alaric's position in Illyricum, at which Claudian vaguely hints, gave room for grave anxiety and seemed to render it inadvisable to leave Italy unguarded. Warlike preparations were thus made not only for an invasion of Africa, but also against a possible invasion of Italy, upon which Alaric had already doubtless begun to meditate².

Mascezel.

The leader of the expedition, whom Claudian either ignores, or patronises, was Mascezel, a brother of Gildo. Treachery seems to have taken root in the house of Gildo. Gildo was a pagan, Mascezel was of pietistic tendencies, the friend of monks and saints, yet the difference of creed was only superficial. Gildo betrayed his brother Firmus, and was in turn betrayed by

¹ *De cons. St.* i. 313-324,

'non ego dilectu Tyrri sed vomere Cadmi
tam subitas acies concepto dente draconis
exiluisse reor.'

The immunity of the royal patrimony was disregarded. *Cod.* vii. 13, nos. 12, 13, 14.

² So Schulz, p. 11. The Northern nations were threatening. Three foes with different interests were united. Alaric was in Illyricum. *Bell. Gild.* 452.

Mascezel¹. Whether in fear of destruction, or through a desire to curry favour with Rome, Mascezel left Africa, and took refuge with Honorius, leaving, according to Orosius' account², his sons in service with Gildo. This puts quite a different complexion on the story of Claudian, and transforms the panic-stricken refugee into a crafty adventurer, whose policy was detected. Gildo penetrated his designs. He felt suspicion at the presence of Mascezel's sons, who might, in collusion with their father, easily devise some plan for assassination which would give them a strong claim to the favour of Stilicho, himself an adept in the art. He took what were for Gildo the justifiable precautions of killing them by some trick and refusing them burial³. The murder of the sons whom he had deserted, gave Mascezel an added claim to be appointed general, a claim which his membership of the reigning house, with the possibility of winning back Africa by cabal and intrigue which that involved, his acquaintance with the conditions of warfare in Africa, and with African affairs generally, had already made strong enough⁴. This may be another explanation of the comparative smallness of the African army. Stilicho, true to his wont, hoped to gain by stratagem a victory which Mascezel's assurances of Gildo's unpopularity

¹ 'est illi patribus, sed non et moribus isdem
Mascezel, fugiens qui dira piacula fratris
spesque suas vitamque tuo commisit asylo.'

Bell. Gild. 391.

² 'novarum malitiarum in fratre perhorrescens in Italiam rediit.'
So Marcellinus. Zosimus, v. 11.

³ 'occidit iuvenes inhumataque corpora vulgo
dispulit et tumulo cognatas arcuit umbras.'

Bell. Gild. 396.

⁴ 'quem (sc. Mascezel) idoneum procurandae republicae fore
propriae orbitatis recens dolor pollicebatur.' Orosius, v. 37.

persuaded him would prove less difficult. With a picked force of perhaps 15,000, as Vogt suggests¹, all the objects of the expedition might be accomplished, more might only make Mascezel too powerful.

Thus the armament sets sail from Pisa², as the Greek fleet of old from Aulis, heedless of storm and winds; for the fortune of Augustus would grant what the tempest might deny. They leave Liguria on the right, Etruria on the left, and avoiding the reefs of Corsica, make for Sardinia. Some approach Sulci, some Olbia, and all afterwards made for the harbour of Cagliari which fronts Africa, and there await favourable winds³. Claudian with true tact omits the ignoble details which Orosius insists upon, of Mascezel's fasting, and vigils with monks whose piety made this island celebrated⁴. Orosius did not believe that Heaven helps those who help themselves.

So ends the epic torso of the Gildonic War. Later events rendered it inexpedient to celebrate more fully the details of Mascezel's triumph. The poet too may not have been displeased to be relieved of the difficult task of sustaining, through one or more succeeding books, the brilliance of his prelude. From beginning to end the workmanship is unsurpassable. The interest never flags, the various incidents in the narrative

¹ Vogt, p. 81.

² Sievers says Genoa but Claudian 483 and 504 suggests Pisa.

³ Gueldenpenning thinks the winter of 397 was passed there. 'certa fides caeli, sed maior Honorius auctor.' The voyage is described in *Bell. Gild.* 504-526.

⁴ 'iam inde sciens quantum in rebus desperatissimis oratio hominis per fidem Christi a clementia Dei impetraret, Caprariam insulam adit... cum his (sanctis) orationibus, ieiuniis, psalmis dies noctesque continuans sine bello victoriam meruit et sine caede vindictam.' Orosius, VII. 36.

follow one another in strictest succession, and reveal the highest constructive powers. In this book Claudian has almost accomplished what all critics have declared impossible, the composition of an epic upon contemporary history. For animation of movement, for brilliance of phrase, for terseness of expression, and impressive rhetoric, these five hundred lines could hardly be equalled anywhere in Roman poetry. Even the mythological element is not out of place. The divine actors in the poem are for once not irrelevant automata, but perform a definite and essential function. Tendency is of course clearly evident in the poem. Claudian's history was based on a careful selection of suitable facts¹, but the account which he gives does in no way challenge our belief. The machinations of tortuous statecraft did not comport with epic simplicity, or everyday morality. No poet, indeed no politician, could have revealed without disguise the inner motives which prompted the action taken in some passages of the Gildonic War and its sequel. But truth has not been distorted beyond the limits of identification. Silence has often more significance than a torrent of words, and the abrupt termination of the poem is the most conclusive confirmation of our other accounts.

Besides its immediate object, to raise the paean of victory, the poem is also an eirenicon, and in passing a vindication of Stilicho's policy. This casual defence, put dexterously in the mouth of the great Theodosius himself, deserves a careful scrutiny. Stilicho was in a conciliatory mood, and wished by-gones to be by-gones. He assumes that the status quo will be accepted, the

¹ Mascezel, for instance, is only referred to in a single passage.

apple of discord now removed, and that brotherly love has returned completely. He dwells upon his deference to Arcadius' wishes¹. In everything he claims to be merely the exponent of Theodosius' policy, and his loyal scholar². There is no heat in the reference to past disagreements³, and what is of some significance, no reference complimentary or otherwise to Eutropius, the person who was in little more than a year to excite Claudian's bitterest wrath. The policy of the hour seems to have been to secure a *rapprochement* with Constantinople, against Alaric possibly, for we hear much of the power of the united empire⁴.

*De IV.
cons. Hon.*

The conclusion of this fragment on the Gildonic War is a suitable point for us to turn for a moment to consider the court affairs of the West. Honorius who held his fourth consulship in 398 A.D. had now arrived at an age when his minister was considering the

- ¹ 'quid noster iniquum molitur Stilicho?
an quisquam nobis devinctior exstat.'

Bell. Gild. 288-290.

- ² 'ut sileam varios quos mecum gesserat actus
quae vidi post fata loquar....'
'hunc solum memorem fidelemque
experior volui si quid, dum vita maneret
aut visus voluisse gerit, venerabilis illi
ceu praesens numenque vocor.'

Ibid. 291-308.

- ³ 'si tanta recusas at soceri reverere faces...'
'sed tantum permitte cadat, nil poscimus ultra.'

Ibid. 314.

This would suggest that the East threatened to aid actively, not merely passively. Symmachus had advocated a reconciliation. *Ep.* iv. 4.

- ⁴ 'quae gens, quis Rhenus et Hister
vos opibus iunctos conspirantesque tulisset?'

Bell. Gild. 313.

So *IV. cons. Hon.* 651-656, written some time earlier; 'ultima fraternas horrebunt Bactra secures.' And *III. cons. Hon.* 139-211, and 395, similar hopes are entertained: 'unanimi fratres (quibus debetur) quodcumque manus evasis avitas.'

expediency of a marriage. This consulship was celebrated by a panegyric composed probably at the end of 397 A.D. There is only one possible allusion to Africa in it, where Stilicho is said to refuse no danger in Honorius' service, and even, for his sake, in an adaptation of an Horatian phrase, to brave the perils of the Libyan desert¹. The most notable part of the poem is an address to Honorius, in the style of Polonius, on the duties of a prince. A very interesting suggestion has been made by Birt, that Claudian was influenced by the recent speech of Synesius before Arcadius on the kingly function. Claudian wished to shew that there was a Western poet who could hold his own with Synesius in this genre. He bids Honorius avoid all haughtiness of demeanour and himself first obey the law, resting his claims on merit not on birth. He introduces a myth about Prometheus to point the moral against yielding to passion, and recalls Seneca's admonitions to Nero. Let him be merciful and remember that he rules Romans not Orientals. He urges him to be foremost in battle and gives him some instruction in the military art. Finally, influenced by that ethical and didactic conception of history which was ever so strong at Rome, he bids him ever to hold converse with the page of Greece and Rome².

¹ 'Libyae squalentis harenas
audebit superare pedes madidaque cadente
Pleiade Gaetulas intrabit navita Syrtes.'

IV. cons. Hon. 436-438.

² These are some of Claudian's finest lines and are justly praised by Birt, *de fide Christiana* 19: 'cum admirarer bonae frugis plenam, modo sententiarum compositionem et electionem elegantissimam, modo felicitatem dictionis exercitatissimae, qua gravissimus quisque sensus ponderosa densitate verborum coartatus non sine philosophica lectione accuratiore hoc praestare potuisse Claudianum intellegebam.'

Such magnificent ideals were too arduous for the indolent and spiritless Honorius. Some devotion to sport and games seems to be the only individual characteristic which so far relieves his colourless personality. The 'awful majesty of his brow' is not discovered in the coins representing him which have come down to us¹. The happy auguries of the poet were in no way fulfilled. For many years Honorius lived a prisoner in his palaces and shewed only fitful gleams of resolution. He was always dominated by the strong will of Stilicho or of others, nor does Claudian attempt to disguise this. In the poem on the Gildonic war for instance, Honorius after his vision summons Stilicho, and defers to his advice. Leaning on Stilicho, who is styled his shield and champion, he shall surpass his father².

Date.

The date of the panegyric on the fourth consulship of Honorius has been questioned. Jeep in his edition of Claudian asserts that it deals mainly with the third consulship and was written at the end of 395 A.D.³. The poem called the panegyric on the third consulship he assigns to March 395, when the consuls for the next year were designated. He points out that in the poem on the 'fourth' consulship there is no mention of Gildo, and thinks it incredible that Honorius just before his marriage should be represented as a beardless

¹ 'quam torva voluptas
frontis et augusti maiestas grata pudoris.'
See Cohen.

² 'te...vincit
subnixus Stilichone suo, quem fratribus ipse
discedens clipeum defensoremque dedisti.'

vv. 431-433.

³ Jeep, *Claudian*, p. 20 seq.

boy¹. He interprets the phrase 'te fastos ineunte quater' to mean merely Honorius' fourth appearance in the *fasti*, and believes that the mistake in the title arose from the year being the third consulship of Honorius and the fourth of Arcadius, the first part of the title being accidentally omitted.

Most of these arguments are very weak. Koch² points out the strangeness of Claudian writing two very similar poems to celebrate one consulship. The second of the two poems is rather too long to have been inflicted on Honorius at the commencement of 396 A.D., when he was only twelve. The earlier of the two poems ignores the events of 395 A.D., because the year was inglorious, and it would have been tactless in a poem addressed to Honorius to dwell upon the murder of his brother's chief minister, in the imperial presence. The choice of the consul was made at the end of the autumn as Zosimus and Claudian shew. It is vain to compare the three books on Stilicho's consulship. They form one rounded whole, and each book has its own special theme. This is hardly true of the two poems in question. The latter poem contains allusions to the expedition to Greece, and the affair at Pholoe. Claudian, rapid as his composition was, was not another Lucilius to write 1500 verses in a month. The suggestion about the loss of part of the title scarcely needs refutation. There is scarcely a word about Arcadius

¹ 'quae gaudia mundo
per tua lanugo cum serpere coeperit ora,
cum tibi protulerit festas nox pronuba taedas.'

vv. 642-644.

² This paragraph summarises Koch's arguments in *Rhein. Mus.* XLIV. p. 587 seq. The similarity of the scheme of the two poems requires still stronger emphasis, as has been pointed out in a previous note.

in the poem, and Claudian rarely lavished praises on Constantinople¹.

Honorius' marriage.

The poem in the concluding verses contains an anticipation of Honorius' marriage. We shall not be wrong in concluding that the subject was now broached to prepare the public mind. Stilicho had long planned a marriage between Honorius and his own daughter Maria, but both the children were as yet unfit for marriage². It seemed, however, desirable for Stilicho's policy that he should strengthen himself against his foes by this matrimonial alliance. The early allusions to the subject were purely general, though the royal entourage, and doubtless the people generally, well understood who was the destined bride. Claudian produced for the occasion some Fescennines in the traditional style, and an Epithalamion³. He celebrates the bridegroom's beauty and his warlike fury, and calls on the whole earth to join the nuptial song. In the fourth poem Maria is at length mentioned. Koch conjectures that the bride's name was not formally proclaimed until a week before the marriage⁴. This took place shortly before the arrival of the news of victory from Africa. The fleet had set sail at the end of winter, or the beginning of spring, and the successful

¹ Zosimus, v. 28. Cl. Panegyric on Olybrius and Probinus. They are nominated by Theodosius after the great battle of the Frigidus. v. 113.

² Honorius was only born in 384 A.D.

³ The *Epithalamion* was hardly produced at a week's notice one would think. Probably Claudian had been working some time at it. It has 363 lines.

⁴ Koch. 'septima lux aderat caelo totiensque, renato viderat exactos Hesperus igne choros.' *Epith.* pref. 15, 16. *Fesc.* II. 'age cuncta nuptiali redimita vere tellus,' suggests that the marriage was in spring, so *ibid.* 41-45, 'Zephyrus solus perdominetur annum,' vv. 8, 9, 'subitisque se rosetis vestiat Alpinus apex.'

engagement soon took place. Thus the marriage itself might have been celebrated before the summer¹.

The *Epithalamion* itself shews more delicacy than the Fescennines. It depicts Honorius suffering a strange new feeling which ultimately reveals itself as a passion for Maria. The marriage is regarded as a cherished project of Theodosius, which had long demanded accomplishment². Stilicho is urged to repay the imperial house the debt he owes it for Serena; Venus, visited by Cupid while at her toilet, intervenes from Cyprus. Triton is summoned to bear her car toward Italy, where Venus proclaims a truce, and prepares the marriage. Maria is discovered studying ancient history with her mother, and Venus, amazed at her beauty, pays her some splendid compliments³. The poem ends with the usual eulogy of Stilicho, and Claudian, unaware of the future, with unconscious irony prays that Thermantia may see a like marriage, and invokes blessings on the family of Stilicho.

This premature union had no issue, and if there is any foundation in a story of Zosimus, Serena had the grace to take all precautions against the consummation of the marriage. As it was, the hollowness of Claudian's

¹ Birt, following the *Chron. Rav.* only, takes the date of Gildo's death as 31 July, 398. In the *de bello Gildonico* we do not yet hear of this. Koch assumes that Mascezel returned at once, and that the marriage was hastened to prevent Mascezel becoming a rival. But Claudian says that the marriage was earlier.

'conubii necdum festivos regia cantus
sopierat, cecinit fuso Gildone triumphos,
et calidis thalami successit laurea sertis.'

De cons. Stil. i. 3-5.

² Claudian skilfully makes all the desire for the marriage come from Honorius, who begs Stilicho not to make him wait longer: 'sponsa mihi pridem patrisque relicta.' The contrast 'socer' and 'gener' is employed *ad nauseam* by Claudian in most of his poems.

³ 'regnum poteras hoc ore mereri.' *Epith.* 263.

adulation is distasteful enough, and shews how even his skill needed some basis of fact. As Donadoni well points out, the future had still more tragic ironies in store. The *Epithalamion* proved a funeral dirge. Maria died childless, Thermantia was divorced, Eucherius and Serena died violent deaths¹.

*The
African
Campaign.*

Meanwhile the expedition had reached the shores of Africa and effected a landing. Gildo, according to Claudian, who seeks to dazzle us by his encyclopaedic knowledge of Africa's resources, had collected a mighty host. The tribes watered by the Cinyps, Triton and Gir near the Hesperids' garden, the Nubian, the Garamantian, the Nasamone, undeterred by Ammon's forebodings, all were in the hostile ranks. But Zosimus says that Gildo was taken unprepared, and also is in disagreement as to the actual conflict. He says that there was a vigorous battle, but Claudian suggests that no engagement worthy of the name took place, and Orosius agrees with him². The latter gives us some details which unfortunately have an element of the marvellous in them. The forces had come to the place where the Ardalion flows between the cities of Theueste and Ammedera. Here a camp was duly measured out, and the army remained awhile. When Mascezel wished to withdraw from his position by escaping through the stockade, he was checked by a vision of Saint Ambrose, who had died in 397 A.D.

¹ 'aurea sic videat similes Thermantia taedas,' *Epith.* 339. Donadoni, *La Guerra Getica*, p. 112, 'l' ultimo poeta di Roma coronava il più lieto de suoi canti auspicando alla discendenza dell' ultimo condottiero di Roma. Il fato sinistro rise, Epitalamio resto un canto funebre.'

² *De cons. Stil.* I. 248-263.

Zosimus, v. 11; Gildo ἀπαράσκευος. Schulz, p. 12, considers this 'nullius momenti.' Orosius, vii. 37.

He struck the ground with his staff three times and cried 'Hic, hic, hic.' Obviously this meant that a battle was to be fought on that ground on the third day¹. An attack was therefore made on that day. The insurgent army yielded almost immediately through a misunderstanding of the action of a standard-bearer, who when attacked lowered his eagle. The legionaries surrendered, and the unhappy barbarians fled in all directions. Gildo himself attempted to flee by ship², but after he had reached the open sea, was driven ashore again by a contrary wind. A few days after he averted a more ignominious death by strangling himself. Thus Orosius claims, by pious aid, a vast army was conquered without treachery and almost without a contest. Mascezel gained a victory without war, a bloodless revenge.

The facts which can be deduced from the combined accounts of Claudian and Orosius seem trustworthy, and preferable to Zosimus' account where that is inconsistent. It is unlikely that Gildo was taken unawares.

¹ 'dicentem hic, hic, hic, quod ille prudenti intellexit merito adnuntiantis fidem victoria verbo locum numero diem significare.'

'barbari defectu militum destituti fugerunt.' Orosius, vii. 36.

² Schulz, p. 12, thinks to the East. Prosper says he was slain at Tabraca.

'praedonem lembo profugum ventisque repulsum
suscepit merito fatalis Tabraca portu,'

de cons. Stil. i. 358-9.

'hostesque tuos aut litore produnt
aut totum oppositi claudunt fugientibus aequor!'

Ibid. ii. 210.

So *In Eutr.* ii. pref. 69, 70,

'idem...venti

Gildonis nuper qui tenuere fugam.'

Zosimus, vii. mentions suicide but not the attempt at flight. A counterfeit of Gildo was prepared for a triumph.

'ipse Iugurthinam subiturus carcere poenam
praeberet fera colla iugo vi captus et armis.'

VI. cons. Hon. 369-383.

He had the whole winter to prepare for an invasion which he was bound to expect¹. His army was rather excessively large than excessively small. The cowardly Nasamonian, the suppliant Garamantian, the trembling Mazax, the fugitive Autololes, and Claudian's other ethnological curiosities were only an encumbrance, and were not zealous in his cause². No serious attempt at resistance was made. Mascezel, who to his good qualities added the Roman support, was perhaps in communication with many of the Moorish chiefs. Gildo on the other hand must have rendered himself unpopular by his misgovernment and cruelty, and was deserted at the first danger. The fact that his army was routed merely by one trifling mistake is significant of the spirit of the army. Gildo's fall was unlamented, and his partisans melted away. Africa was again under the rule of a Roman proconsul, as the *Codex Theodosianus* shews³.

Mascezel's
fate.

Mascezel returned to Italy⁴. Here, Zosimus tells us, he was received with all the outward signs of favour. Hopes of a splendid career were held out to him by Stilicho, who, nevertheless, was disgusted at the

¹ The expedition may, however, have arrived a little earlier than he expected.

² 'moverat omnes Maurorum Gildo populos.' Claudian ends by comparing Gildo to Porus, *de cons. Stil.* i. 238-269.

³ We hear of a 'comes Gildonici patrimonii.' *Codex* vii. 8, 7, 8 and 9; ix. 40, 19 and 42, 16. See *Notitia Occidentis*, ch. 23. Keller, p. 38, takes a passage, *de cons. Stil.* iii. 99-112, to mean that Gildo's adherents were punished. The allusion to the 'rectores Libyae' is very puzzling, as is the part the people play: 'populo iudice.' Keller's interpretation seems right.

⁴ Gildo's partisans were punished and many processes came before the court, Gueldenpenning, p. 70. This continued till even 408 A.D., cf. *Codex* ix. 40, 19, and ix. 42, 18.

Gildo's possessions reverted to the imperial treasury. They were so large that a special 'Comes' was appointed. A passage of Claudian seems to refer to these trials.

brilliance of his success¹. The word passed round that the whole of the success was to be attributed to Stilicho, and that Mascezel was to be ignored. In an inscription of the time we find the deliverance of Africa ascribed to his counsels and provision, in language which recalls Claudian's words². Mascezel himself soon ceased to be a stumbling-block. While riding on the outskirts of a city with Stilicho, he was thrown into the river which he was crossing, and the pleased expression on Stilicho's face prevented anyone from attempting a rescue³.

Such an account coming from Zosimus must necessarily be received with all reserve. Unfortunately we cannot check him by Orosius. After Mascezel, with the arrogance inbred in his house, had in the hour of victory profaned a church, Orosius turns fiercely against him and declares that his sacrilege was followed by a just retribution. This, one would infer, was death.

The disfavour into which Mascezel fell rendered further poetic handling of the recent war for a time inopportune. A second book would, however reluctantly, do honour to Mascezel, and intensify the invidious feelings which Stilicho's summary methods must have caused. Mascezel out of favour was a danger to Stilicho, and a fallen politician scarcely ever experiences what, from the nature of the case, must be a hazardous clemency. If Stilicho should take credit at the fall of

Reason for sudden end of poem.

¹ Zosimus, v. 11.

² C. I. to vi. 1730 and viii. 87, see Vogt, p. 81.

³ Zosimus, v. 11, 'νεμεσήσας ἐπὶ τῷ κατορθώματι θεραπεύειν ὁμῶς προσεποιεῖτο, χρηστὰς ὑποφαίνων ἐλπίδας.' Zosimus says Stilicho gave the word for him to be thrown in.

Vogt, p. 83, says the writers of this age delight to seek for traces of criminal instincts with wanton eagerness; Schulz that they tell these scandals with 'novellistischen Reize.' They revel, with the pleasure of an age that is morally enervated and needs stimulants, in the dark side of human nature. Birt, *de fide Christ.*, in spite of his admiration for Stilicho seems to accept the fact. So Gibbon and Koch.

Rufinus, why should he feel scruples at the assassination of a Moor, who had already betrayed and overthrown his own brother? As Claudian said of Gildo, the agents of treachery are never loved even by those who employ them. Mascezel had served his purpose, and a second Gildonic War must at all costs be prevented. Some scholars have held, quite unreasonably, that Orosius' silence discredits the story. On the contrary if it does anything it confirms it, and even suggests some dark and violent end¹.

*A popular
success.*

Stilicho had thus by his promptness in dealing with Gildo, restored any credit and popularity which his performances in Greece had lost him. The Roman idler of every class prized such successes more highly than any more dazzling triumph. Claudian's last word on the subject is in unison with the first. Great indeed, and daring, is his ingenuity in eulogising a victory, 'than which none in all Rome's history was more renowned.' Stilicho fought not to extend the empire but to save it. All Rome's glories would have become fables if the upstart Moor had lorded it over Carthage. 'Stilicho has restored thee, Rome, the whole series of thy triumphs².'

1

'quamvis discrimine summo
proditor adportet suspensa morte salutem,
numquam gratus erit.' *Bell. Gild.* i. 261 seq.

Orosius says 'elatus rerum secundarum insolentia post aliquantum temporis solus ipse punitus est. secuta est poena sacrilegium.' Schulz says Orosius is ignorant, p. 12. He hints at his death, 'multis quidem verbis sed quae a nobis non intelliguntur.' Vogt, p. 85, thinks such a murder unspeakably foolish. Mascezel's destruction could have been effected by legal forms. He doubts whether there could be rivalry between Stilicho and Mascezel; the people's gratitude was strong. But popular favour was always a broken reed, as Tiberius Gracchus and many others discovered. Von Wietersheim correctly assigns the deed to the influence of 'raison d'état.'

² 'victoria nulla clarior, aut hominum votis optatior unquam contigit.' *de cons. St.* i. 368-385. Yet Symmachus in 401 A.D. is still anxious about the corn supply: 'si qua adhuc de Sicilia speramus, incerta sunt.' vi. 33.

CHAPTER V.

In Eutropium—His government—His fall—Tarbigilus—Gainas
—*De Providentia*—Zosimus' account of Eutropius.

MEANWHILE the anticipation of improved relations 'In Eutropium.' between East and West was not realised¹, and the manifestations of Western animosity culminated in the triumphal poem on the fall of Eutropius², whose whole administration we may now appropriately consider. The historians of the East have naturally favoured us with fuller if not more trustworthy accounts of his government at Constantinople. Zosimus, Socrates, Philostorgius and Sozomenus give us accounts which unfortunately present considerable divergence or disorder in chronological matters. We are also highly indebted to a contemporary authority, the homily of John Chrysostom against Eutropius, which is confirmatory of Claudian in many respects³. We can also glean some information about Eutropius' administration from the Theodosian Code, and especially from one important

¹ Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 76, thinks the East had not behaved very badly to the West in the matter of Gildo. But all that the East could take credit for was that it had not actually attacked the West.

² The first book was probably written in January 399 A.D. and soon published. Eutropius has not yet fallen. Eutropius was perhaps designated consul September 398 A.D. Birt, *Introduction*, p. 4.

³ Edited with Claudian's *In Eutropium* and translated by Dr Castelli, Verona, 1889.

enactment. For once the Eastern authorities are fuller than the Western.

*The poem
a satire.*

The satirist is but the panegyrist inverted. It was Claudian's devotion to Stilicho which chiefly induced him to turn his powers of invective upon Eutropius. It is not therefore very surprising that Claudian's faculty of invective proved as fertile as his powers of eulogy. A poet who had ever won fresh triumphs in the trite and hackneyed paths of eulogy could scarcely fail in the easier walk of satire. His work recalls the power and force of Juvenal, not least in that coarse and brutal directness on which the satirists prided themselves. Like Juvenal Claudian preferred to turn his weapons against those who could no longer retaliate. The poem may have been written to celebrate Eutropius' entrance upon the consulship, as Birt suggests. If this is so, Claudian wrote two poems in honour of the consuls of 399 A.D. But the poem in praise of Mallius Theodorus is far tamer than that against his colleague¹.

The poem might be entitled the 'Tragic Comedian.' It opens with an indignant protest against this portentous consul who dwarfs all other prodigies. It is one of Fortune's savage ironies. How long will her revels continue²?

¹ In this panegyric there is strangely enough not a word about Eutropius. Mallius (not Manlius as Claudian) was an intimate friend of Symmachus, and in spite of his insignificance has been the subject of a biography. Peter Paul Rubens, Utrecht, 1694. See Symmachus v. for various letters. He says in 10, 'consulatus hic tuus talis est ut meum geminasse videatur.' 11 confirms Claudian, 'intervallo quietis refotus auspicatissimos adtolle fasces.'

² 'semiferos partus, metuendaque pignora matri
et geminos soles mirari desinat orbis.
omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra.'

In Eut. i. 1-8.

The first lines read much like a chapter of Livy, who loved portents, put into verse.

A brilliant but savage biography of Eutropius, which can hardly be trusted, follows. Eutropius was of Armenian birth. He is carried to Assyria in his youth¹, and thence to the slave-markets in which he often changes hands. This is a case however in which excessive contempt is an advantage². The same man who is thrust forth with contumely from every house finds an entrance into the royal palace, where for a time he lurked in obscurity. At length the evil destiny of Abundantius led him to promote the person who wrought his own destruction, Eutropius' one good deed³. He sees all things beneath his feet and swells with pride. Nobles are driven into exile far away in Ethiopia or in the desert, and Eutropius displays the usual characteristics of ignobleness elevated, scorn of all weaker than himself, and a ferocious hatred of everything lofty⁴. Pity is forgotten in the remembrance of past indignities.

Yet his consuming passion is greed. He transfers the skill obtained in petty pilferings of the imperial larder into the larger sphere of government. He has reduced traffic in offices to an exact science. He is a broker in appointments, and has framed a tariff not

¹ 'inde per Assyriae trahitur commercia ripae,
hinc fora venalis Galata ductore frequentat
permutatque domos varias. quis nomina possit
tanta sequi?' *In Eut.* i. 57-61.

² Some of Claudian's jests are merely disgusting to modern taste, e.g., v. 113 sq.,

'est ubi despectus nimius iuvat, undique pulso
per cunctas licuit fraudes impune vagari
et fatis aperire viam?' *Ibid.* 138-140.

³ 'solumque hoc rite peregit
auctorem damnare suum.' *Ibid.* 169, 170.

⁴ Zosimus, v. 8.

Timasius for instance, ch. 9, and Eunapius, frag. 70, and frag. 71, for the death of Bargas.

remarkable for its moderation. The ex-slave wishes to make everything liable to his former condition¹.

*Eutropius
judge and
warrior.*

Intoxicated by his wealth he attempts graver crimes. He acts as judge, and to his enemies' joy plays the warrior². They commit extensive devastations and win rich booty. Cappadocian matrons are driven across the Phasis, and the flower of Syria is a slave beyond the gates of Taurus. Yet Eutropius returns as a victor, and is saluted by a train of clients. In quavering accents he speaks of his great sacrifices for the public weal, and deplores in high falsetto the envy and depreciation to which he is subjected. He sighs and sobs like some toping mother-in-law on a visit³. And it is for this that Eutropius demands the consulship.

The whole thing is a tragi-comedy, matter at once for laughter and for tears⁴. This wizened, apeline creature is attended (O wonder!) by a lictor more honourable than himself. He boasts in his superstition

¹ 'institor imperii, caupo famosus honorum...'

'suffixa patenti
vestibulo pretiis distinguit regula gentes:
tot Galatae, tot Lydus eat, tot Lydia nummis!'

In Eutr. i. 195-210.

² *Ibid.* 236-266 :

'trans Phasin aguntur
Cappadocum matres...extra Cimmerias, Taurorum claustra,
paludes
flos Syriae servit.'

Eutropius' triumph was apparently over the remains of the Huns, Tillemont v. 441, but Gueldenpenning connects this with his embassy to the Goths after Rufinus' fall, or thinks that he was given the rank of 'dux' and 'magister militiae,' p. 79.

³ 'qualis venit arida socrus
longinquam visura nurum; vix lassa resedit
et iam vina petit.'

Ibid. 269-271.

⁴ 'exempla creantur quae socci superent risus, luctusque cothurni.' These lines contain the motive of the whole poem. Gueldenpenning says rightly that the maxim of Eutropius and his creatures was 'après nous le déluge,' p. 82.

of his care in procuring oracles from Egypt, a eunuch Tiresias, an enervate Melampus.

The birds raised an outcry against this consulship *Portents.* and the year shuddered at it. The rule of eunuchs may suit the effeminate East, but it is unworthy of Rome. Then Claudian, who seizes every opportunity of turning Eutropius to ridicule, launches into a series of *doubles entendres* put into the mouth of a wanton wit, which, however we may censure them, shew a marvellous command of the shades of expression which the Latin language permitted. The East calls Stilicho to his aid, and begs him at least to ignore Eutropius' consulship. Was it this that all Rome's men of action fought to attain? Stilicho, why delay to conquer, through shame of a conflict? I see the rage through which Gildo fell. Victory will be swift and bloodless¹.

The brilliance of these lines renders the historian's duty difficult. The poet has very little scruples about using any scandals which had been bruited about to Eutropius' discredit. His invective fails by reason of its exaggerations. We can easily believe that Eutropius rose from abject slavery² to the administration of an empire, but attacks which concede Eutropius no ability

¹ Philostorgius, xi. 6, says Eutropius 'καὶ τὴν τοῦ πραιτωρίου τιμὴν ἀναβάς.' Cf. Claudian 'dux acies, iudex praetoria, tempora consul,' v. 286, also v. 311. Some have doubted whether he could have acted as judge. He certainly does not appear in the Codex as praefectus praetorio. Gueldenpenning, p. 29, thinks Eutropius had no definite military command. He was not praefectus praetorio and there was no room for him in the Codex. As regards iudex he may have sat as an 'assessor.' Boissier, *La fin de paganisme*, II. 291, considers that Claudian here and elsewhere indiscreetly reveals Stilicho's projects,—but Stilicho never contemplated a visit to Constantinople at this time.

² It is curious to see the old Roman sense of indignation at the violation of decorum still alive. Some of Juvenal's fiercest lines are

at all entirely miss their aim. He was no doubt repulsive in appearance and in manners, but suppleness, address, obsequiousness must have been some of his qualities¹. He had managed to outwit Rufinus in the marriage of Arcadius, a coup which demanded great dexterity. We need not consider Eutropius as an example of 'unregarded age in corners thrown,' rejected by every master in turn. This is merely insolent invective. He had continued to make himself useful to Theodosius and Arcadius, and if not a great statesman, he was at least a consummate wire-puller. His deterioration after his elevation to supreme power is not surprising; the phenomenon is so common. If in the flush of triumph he imagined himself a mighty captain and a devoted patriot, the butt of obloquy and depreciation, the humour of the situation is not unparalleled. As to the venality of his administration all are agreed, It is this single characteristic which every writer predicates of the politicians of this period, and the exception which Claudian's partiality makes in favour of Stilicho can hardly pass unchallenged. Chrysostom here confirms Claudian. He tells us of Eutropius' lavish expenditure, and of his possessions throughout the world. He had succeeded to much of the fortune of Rufinus, which had never been restored to its rightful owners, and had also acquired a fortune of his own, by corruption on an extended scale.

directed against a consul who was his own coachman. Eutropius was not attacked until he became consul; v. 422 reveals the feeling,

'a fronte recedant

imperii; tenero tractari pectore nescit
publica maiestas.'

Cf. bk. II. 553-556.

¹ Eunapius, frags. 68 and 69, probably refer to Eutropius; v. Müller, he is compared to a serpent.

An examination of the enactments found in the Theodosian Code between the end of 395 A.D., and the middle of 399 A.D., gives us some details concerning the rule of Eutropius. We may probably assume that the man who governed Arcadius 'as though he were an ox,' is mainly responsible for the edicts which then issued from the royal palace. The famous edict on sanctuaries addressed to Eutychianus is attributed by all our authorities to Eutropius' influence¹, and there is little doubt that he prompted the issue of the majority of the contemporary laws.

We are chiefly impressed by the enactments against heresy. Heretics or heretical corporations were debarred from holding lands in the city of Constantinople and forbidden to assemble 'ad litaniam faciendam².' Christians who slid back into paganism lost the power of testamentary disposition. Eunomians and especially their 'clerici' were driven from all cities and banned from human intercourse³. The ancient privileges of priest and hierophants were abolished, and any temples left standing in the countryside were to be quietly and orderly demolished⁴. 'Thus,' the law proceeds, 'the source of superstition will be destroyed.' Sunday is to be duly observed except when the king's birthday falls

¹ Zosimus, v. 8. He obtained most of Rufinus' wealth. There is an amusing edict justifying this. Chrysostom speaks of his sumptuous banquets, the everflowing wine, and the magnificent cuisine.

² ix. 40, 16, 6; xvi. 5, 30, 7; xvi. 7, 6. Eutropius had been sent by Theodosius in earlier times to Alexandria and went up the Nile as far as Lycopolis to see John the Hermit. He promised Theodosius victory. Claudian makes a sneering allusion to this, *In Eutr.* i. 312. See Soz. vi. 28; vii. 22; Theodoret v. 24; Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, v. 26.

³ 'de civitatibus pellantur extorres et humanis coetibus segregentur.' xvi. 5, 31 and 32.

⁴ xvi. 10, 14, 'privilegia...penitus aboleantur.'

on that day. Then games, in other cases rigorously forbidden, were to be held. The Jews alone escaped this persecution, for Anti-Semitism had not yet been engrafted upon orthodoxy. They are allowed to fix their own prices in their dealings with one another. The grand patriarch is defended. They are protected from 'inruentum contumelia¹,' and are deprived of only one privilege. They may not take sanctuary in Christian churches, a plan which had apparently occurred to wily Hebrews in trouble. If they are Roman citizens they must plead before the courts except in matters of the law.

Eutropius' *régime* started with magnificent professions. The eunuch sought to contrast his clemency with the rigour of Rufinus. If any further proscription, 'quod absit,' takes place, the wife of the proscribed is to retain her own property, and presents given to her before marriage. This order is enforced by the highly laudable principle 'tam longe enim unusquisque a metu ac poena abesse debet quam alienus a crimine est².' The Lycians are delivered from that ignominy which Rufinus' fury had inflicted upon them. 'We desire the former reputation and merit of our most devoted Lycia to be re-established³.' No one henceforth is to insult the Lycians, who are once again admitted to a public

¹ xvi. 8, 10 and 11, 'si quis audeat inlustrium patriarcharum contumeliosam per publicum facere mentionem, ultionis sententia subiugetur.' xvi. 8, 12 protects their meetings from violent entry or disturbance.

² ix. 42, 15, the principle is 'solus criminis sui solvat poenas.'

³ ix. 38, 8, 'ne quis posthac civem Lycium contumelioso nomine iniuriæ audeat vulnerare...nec unius viri inlustri Tatiani tantum valuerit temporalis offensio, teterrimi iudicis inimici ut adhuc macula in Lycios perseveret quæ in ipso iam temporis absolutione consumpta est.'

career. The temporary offence given to that foul judge by Tatianus is not to hang over a whole people. It has been blotted out by lapse of time.

But such philanthropy would not stand the stress of trial. An edict of Sept. 4, 397 A.D., is a remarkable document, and seems to bear on it the stamp of the eunuch¹. It forbids the forming of conspiracies against the lives of men in high office², or even of their servants, and the intent is to be punished as severely as the deed. As an act of special grace, the sons of the guilty persons, to whom the taint of disloyalty would naturally descend as a hereditary curse, are granted their lives, but no inheritance can come to them from their mother, their grandmother, or from strangers. The edict goes on in the wildest language of panic-stricken absolutism to curse them roundly. Let them be ever needy and in beggary, let their father's infamy ever accompany them, let them hold no office at all, let them be such that death may be a solace, life a torture. Even those who intercede for them have committed an unpardonable offence. Daughters, as the law charitably remarks, should be punished less severely³. In consideration of their weakness and lack of daring, they are allowed to inherit

¹ Eunapius, frag. 67, shews Eutropius had a system of espionage. ix. 14, 3, ‘cum militibus vel privatis, barbaris etiam scelestam iniri factionem’ forbidden. Eutropius had been thoroughly alarmed.

² ‘de nece vivorum illustrium, qui consiliis et consistorio nostro intersunt, eadem severitate voluntatem qua effectum puniri iura voluerunt.’

³ ‘filii quibus vitam imperatoria specialiter lenitate concedimus—nihil capiant—sint postremo tales ut is perpetua egestate sordentibus sit et mors solacio et vita supplicio...’ ‘ad filias...mitior enim circa eas debet sententia quas pro infirmitate sexus minus ausuras esse confidimus.’ On the other hand the informer is received with open arms, ‘si quis studio verae laudis accensus ipse prodiderit factionem et praemio a nobis et honore donabitur.’

the Falcidian share from their mother. Such an edict breathes only the language of panic. It shews the insecurity of Eutropius' power, a fact to which he was painfully alive, and is a revelation too of the essential cowardice of the man. This breather of fire and slaughter was two years later to be the craven suppliant of Chrysostom¹.

Sanctuary.

Eutropius' zeal for orthodoxy was marred by one step which lost him all the regard he had won by previous deference. He forbids monks or clergy to attempt to shield those who had been condemned. Yet power of appeal was granted if there was any suspicion that justice had been overborne by error or partiality². If this appeal was not made within the given time, no one was to stay the execution of the penalty. But if the boldness of monk and clergy is such that it is thought that war rather than justice will result³, the case is to be referred to the imperial clemency, that at its pleasure a sterner vindication may proceed. The bishops are held responsible for the proceedings of the monks. If sanctuary is taken the law must be vindicated⁴. This enactment appears to

¹ Since writing this I see that Gueldenpenning makes a very similar remark, p. 74. The enactment is a 'Gesetz welches von der Furcht des Eunuchen vor einer etwaigen Rache und von der Bosheit und Niedrigkeit seiner Seele den deutlichsten Beweis ablegt.' So many denunciations of masters by slaves resulted that Arcadius had later to check this by enactment.

² 'si tempora suffragantur interponendae provocationis non negamus ut ibi diligentius examinetur.' ix. 40, 16.

³ 'si tanta clericorum ac monachorum audacia est, ad clementiam nostram commissa referantur ut nostro mox superior ultio procedat arbitrio.'

⁴ ix. 45, 3, Gueldenpenning thinks there must have been other enactments as this is not harsh. But any abrogation of existing rights would be bitterly resented by the Church. John (G. p. 89) had been alienated by the treatment of Pentadia who had sought sanctuary.

prove that some disagreement had risen between Eutropius and the church. The 'rift within the lute' was to assume larger proportions with the advance of time. Curiously enough, Eutropius himself was the first to experience the rigour of this law.

There are a large number of miscellaneous regulations. Frequent enactments are found concerning the order of precedence in the civil service¹, irregularities in wills, the repairing of old walls and the building of new in the provinces². Encroachments upon the imperial property are extenuated neither by prescription nor by 'novi census praeiudicium,' nor 'precatio colorata,' nor 'incubatio diuturna.' Justice is to be speedy and presents may not be accepted by officials³. The unhappy curiales are sternly enjoined not to shirk their responsibilities⁴, and the enactments forbidding the misuse of the 'cursus publicus' were almost as frequent as they were futile. The vicious system of corn doles had been established at Constantinople as at Rome lest the dignity of the former city should be impaired, and people participated in the distribution who had not even a house in the city. A strangely modern edict forbids the use of the water supply for fields or 'garden fads,' other edicts deal with the entertainment of emperors⁵, the date at which soldiers are to be served with new wine⁶, the absence of soldiers from their regiment without furlough⁷, houses near

Other enactments.

¹ VI. 27, 8; VI. 26, 8; XI. 23, 3 and 4; VI. 2, 6, 9 and 10.

² XV. 1, 34 and 36.

³ IX. 1, 18; X. 10, 21.

⁴ XII. 18, 2. The curiales were responsible for the collection of taxes. For their unhappy position, cf. Dill, *Roman life in the last century of the Western Empire*.

⁵ VII. 8, 5.

⁶ VII. 4, 25.

⁷ VII. 1, 16 and 17.

granaries, encroachments on the imperial property¹, the dearth of the clergy², which reminds us of the twentieth century, and the branding of craftsmen to prevent them leaving their trade, a regulation which takes us back again to an earlier epoch of civilisation.

These enactments do not aid us much in passing a judgment on the Eutropian *régime*. Enactments may be good, but their execution may be feeble and dilatory. The character of the edicts against heresy contrasts unfavourably with the toleration of Stilicho. The edict discussed above shows that Eutropius was liable to panics, and on the whole the evidence against his administration is too strong to be withstood. It was weak and relied too much on finesse and cabals. Eutropius had absolutely no scruples in ridding himself of dangerous rivals, and if we may trust our authorities at all, he was excessively venal.

His fall.

We now proceed to discuss the circumstances connected with his fall. For this we have several authorities, and two contemporary accounts, one Eastern and one Western.

*Chrysostom,
In Eutropium.*

The homily of Chrysostom, *In Eutropium*, and to a lesser degree the homily delivered after Eutropius' removal, are most valuable as pieces of contemporary evidence, written by one who had much to do with Eutropius and addressed to men who lived in the same city, and who were familiar with him. The first was composed with a didactic purpose. Its keynote is 'vanity of vanities, all is vanity³.' It is a splendid

¹ xv. 1, 39.

² xvi. 2, 32, 'si quos forte episcopi deesse sibi clericos arbitrantur ex monachis rectius ordinabunt, non obnoxios publicis privatisque rationibus cum invidia teneant, sed habeant iam probatos.'

³ 'ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων καὶ πάντα ματαιότης.' *Hom. In Eut. 1.*

example of Chrysostom's copious eloquence, his diction, and powers of amplification. Its contrast with the masterpieces of ancient eloquence is as striking. There is none of that restraint or reticence which marks the classic masterpieces of ancient Greece. In the exuberance of his genius, Chrysostom pours out a never-ending stream of words and images, and in his resolve to lose no telling effect, and to realise to the full the possibilities of every situation, he sometimes oversteps the limits of aesthetic propriety. He continually protests that he wishes not to trample on the fallen¹, but the attraction is irresistible, and he returns to his word-painting. And this to fastidious critics would give the speech a spice of vulgarity.

The homily is a magnificent piece of rhetoric, it was no doubt a consummate display of elocution. It was an episode of living drama, in which every member of his audience, in a way, took his humble share, while Chrysostom was the protagonist². He harangues his audience on the memorable example of the vicissitudes of mortal destiny and turning points to Eutropius crouching beneath the altar. Turning to the eunuch he reminds him of former friendly warnings. In sonorous language³ he declares the mercy and forgive-

¹ ‘ καὶ ταῦτα λέγω, οὐκ ὀνειδίζων, οὐδὲ ἐπεμβαίνων αὐτοῦ τῇ συμφορᾷ.’
Hom. in Eut. 3.

² When this was written I had neglected Chrysostom's later homily. I see that he was fully conscious of this element of the situation. *Homily*, p. 396 seq., Migne, vol. III. ‘εὐρὼν τὰ πράγματα μάλλον δὲ τὰ ῥήματά μου πράγματα γιγνόμενα, τὴν ὁμιλίαν μου τὴν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων κηρυττομένην.’

³ ‘τὸν πολέμιον αἰχμάλωτον λαβοῦσα, φέιδεται καὶ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ παριδόντων, μόνη καθάπερ μήτηρ φιλόστοργος, ὑπὲρ τὰ παραπετάσματα αὐτῆς ἔκρυψε, καὶ πρὸς βασιλικὴν ὁργὴν ἔστη, πρὸς δήμου θυμόν, καὶ πρὸς μῖσος ἀφόρητον...μὴ δὴ μνησικακήσης, ὦ ἄνθρωπε. ἐκείνου ἐσμέν οἰκέται τοῦ σταυρουμένου.’ *Ibid.* 3. The whole of the dialogue between him and an imaginary brother is very finely expressed.

ness of the Church. Finally, after by his masterly pleading having turned to pity a most unfavourable audience, he begs his hearers to come with him and implore the imperial mercy¹.

The Eutropius of Chrysostom is substantially the Eutropius of Claudian. They agree as to the mightiness of his power, the boundlessness of his wealth², and his craven spirit³. Chrysostom's account is necessarily concentrated in the drama of a single day, it is his stray allusions which give us our chief sidelights on the character of the men, and not the scene in the Church of the Apostles. Claudian's account is more systematic and more biographical, but perhaps less trustworthy. Chrysostom's homily is not disfigured by the brutality which characterises Claudian's work. The contrast between Christianity and Paganism is indeed well summed up in the different attitudes which the two men adopt to a fallen opponent⁴.

In Eutropium.

The second book *In Eutropium* depicts the external events which led up to Eutropius' fall. It starts with a bitter imprecation upon the East for its participation in Eutropius' infamy. It generously offers to compound for the world's offences by offering

¹ 'κοινη προσέλθωμεν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.' *Homily*, 5.

² 'ποῦ νῦν ἡ λαμπρά τῆς ὑπατείας περιβολή; ποῦ δὲ οἱ κρότοι καὶ οἱ χόροι, καὶ αἱ θαλαῖαι καὶ αἱ πανηγύρεις;' *Ibid.* 1.

³ 'ἦν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ τὰ νῦν νεκρωθέντος ἅπαξ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον διακείμενον. κτύπος δὲ τῶν ὀδόντων, καὶ πάταγος καὶ γλῶττα διαλυομένη, καὶ σχῆμα τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰκὸς τὴν ληθίνην ἔχειν ψυχὴν.' *Ibid.* 2.

⁴ Castelli says, p. 146, Chrysostom shews his generous mind throughout, his sincerity cannot be doubted. Chrysostom was disinterested (p. 175), Claudian was not. We may contrast 'il sentimento dell' amicizia e il sentimento della pietà.' In Castelli's opinion (p. 171) the work rivals that of Claudian in its easy and persuasive form, its choice of words, its force of imagination, and its power of taking advantage of favourable points.

up Byzantium as a scapegoat¹. This is justified by the servile adulation which the senate and leading men of Constantinople had lavished upon him. He was called the law's defence, the emperor's father, and in the extremity of their folly men strove to perpetuate their infamy on many a brazen statue². They praise his noble birth, his valour in the field, his services to the city. Olympus must have its place even in a satire. Mars addresses Bellona. He charges her to wipe out this disgrace, praising Stilicho incidentally for his refusal to inscribe a eunuch's name on the Roman archives, and for preserving Rome untainted by this guilt. Yet what a spectacle may be seen in the Eastern capital, and the people love to have it so. 'War alone can expel this pest; the Northern invader shall vindicate the laws profaned, and barbarism shall come to the aid of Roman modesty³.'

This intervention owed its origin to Tarbigilus⁴, a *Tarbigilus*. captain of a Gothic detachment. He had just left the court incensed at the lack of deference with which Eutropius had treated him⁵. He is met by Bellona in the guise of his wife. She reproaches him for returning empty-handed, and like a true Gothic virago scratches

¹ 'unam pro mundo Furiis concedimus urbem,' *In Eutr.* ii. 39, cf. v. 2, 'et si quid restat Eoi, quod pereat, regni.' Stilicho had been declared a public enemy by the East. Hence these tears.

² Philostorgius, vi. 6, 'πατρικίον τε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπατον ἀναγράφειν, καὶ πατὴρ, ὁ εὐνούχος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ μὴδὲ τὸν τυχόντα παῖδα φῆναι δυνάμενος.' Cf. Chrysostom for his parasites. None of these inscriptions survive. *In Eutr.* ii. 70,

'monumenta petuntur
dedecoris multisque gemunt incudibus aera
formatura nefas.'

³ *Ibid.* 159, 'barbara Romano succurrant arma pudori.'

⁴ Elsewhere he is called Tribigildus.

'viso tum forte redibat
Eutropio vacuus donis.'

Ibid. 175.

him vigorously. She compares the rewards of fidelity with those of treason, and cuttingly bids the craven partner to whom she alas! is yoked, to take to agriculture instead. It is the traitor now who thrives. The devastator of Greece, the ravager of Epirus, lords it in Illyricum unchallenged, Rome has now forgotten to reward her friends¹.

The response is immediate, though it is delayed by a digression upon Asia Minor. The Goths ravage Phrygia, whose cities, defenceless, with walls long crumbled to dust, offer no resistance to an unexpected foe². Cybele mournfully recognises that the end ordained by Jove has come, and bids farewell to her loved haunts³.

Eutropius'
council.

Eutropius at first adopts the ostrich policy of ignoring disasters. It is a small troop of bandits, which requires a magistrate rather than an army⁴. Then he offers honours to the foe, which are now scornfully rejected. At last he is constrained to call a council of war, to which his friends repair in frivolous mood. Eutropius recalls them to seriousness, and dwells upon the vastness of his labours⁵. Leo, a man of vast gluttony, a braggart, who combines a superfluity of flesh with a deficiency of spirit, rises and wheezily

¹ 'i nunc devotus aratri scinde solum.' *In Eut.* II. 194-229.

² *Ibid.* vv. 274-278, cf. Zosimus, v. 13.

³ *In Eutr.* II. 279-303.

⁴ 'parvam latronum errare catervam...
nec duce frangendas iactat, sed iudice vires.'

Ibid. 304-316.

⁵ 'iuveneres venere protervi

lascivique senes...

increpat Eutropius, non haec spectacula tempus

poscere; nunc alias armorum incumbere causas...

nec tantis unum subsistere posse periculis.'

Ibid. vv. 325-375.

addresses them. He animates the laggards to action with Falstaffian courage. Why sit there in the seraglio and allow dangers to thicken? He claims the arduous undertaking for himself. He will deal desolation among the recreant Gruthungs as amid a flock of sheep. The proposal is received and accepted with great applause¹.

The army had sadly deteriorated under the influence of four years' idleness². The luxury of Byzantium, and the triumphs of Ancyra³ had broken its might. It sets out in a careless insubordinate spirit. No choice is exercised in the selection of camps, no proper watch is kept by sentinels, no scouts are sent out, go as you please is the order of the day. Tarbigilus feigns a retreat and awaits a suitable opportunity to attack. While the camp is heavy with wine, the barbarians burst in. Some are slain in their slumbers, others while rising, others flee to a neighbouring swamp to their destruction. Leo flees on a horse which falls into a morass. He dies of fright at the supposed presence of a foe, and the army is completely lost⁴.

*Roman
careless-
ness.*

¹ 'emicat extemplo cunctis trepidantibus audax
crassa mole Leo...
tunc Ajax erat Eutropii...

vocemque expromit anhelam
quis novus hic torpor, socii? quonam usque sedemus
femineis clausi thalamis? me petit hic sudor
Tarbigilum timidum desertoiresque Gruthungos
ut miseram populabor oves.'

In Eut. II. 376-408.

Cf. Eunapius, frag. 76, where Subarmachius probably is Leo.

² 'pulcher et urbanae cupiens exercitus umbrae...
nec soles imbresve pati multumque priori
dispar...cum duce mutatae vires.'

Ibid. 409-415.

³ 'Byzantia robur fregit luxuries Ancyranique triumpho.' *Ibid.* 415-6. For the annual visit of the court at this time to Ancyra, cf. the *Codex Theodosianus*, which has a number of laws dated from this place.

⁴ *Ibid. 417-461.*

The wildest rumours reach the terror-stricken court Tarbigilus' approach is dreaded everywhere. The flames of burning cities are seen afar and ashes cling to the sails of ships. The Persian king becomes active after a long torpor, for what might not happen in Eutropius' year of office¹? Moulded by Epimetheus not Prometheus, men discern too late the cause of their misfortunes. They remember Stilicho and view his approach with mingled hope and fear. The East appeals to Stilicho. She tells of Eutropius' rule, at first circumspect and careful of appearances, afterward with Leo and Hosius as worthy pillars, an avowed tyranny. He is patrician, consul, general. The East falls out of cultivation and the plough is banished. The Persian cavalry has threatened Antioch, which was almost destroyed by fire. Our enemies are within our bosom. The Gruthungs, once a Roman legion, to whom lands and homes were assigned, have revolted, and are ravaging Lydia and the fairest cities of Asia with the sword. The court recks not while anything remains; the remnant is sold. Thus they restore their losses, this is the new Imperialism. Stilicho alone is our helper and defender. We do not claim Stilicho entirely. Let him be the guardian of either realm, let both enjoy the splendour of his arms, and one man's virtue labour for the whole world².

The second book is at once a fantasia and a burlesque, but certainly not a piece of sober history. The very

¹ 'sed quid non audeat annus Eutropii?' *In Eut.* II. 480.

² 'clipeus nos protegat idem
unaque pro gemino desudet cardine virtus.'

vv. 601, 602.

Birt, p. 41, takes the 'servilia regna' of v. 593 of Tarbigilus. It is better to take it of Eutropius.

raciness of its comic scenes, and the brilliance of its rhetoric is due to Claudian's improvisation of incidents. On the bare framework of Eutropius, his fall, his satellites, and the rage of Tribigild, he has succeeded in composing a brilliant specimen of an extravaganza, alternating with invective. Gainas, the arch-mover in all the anti-Eutropian scheme, is not once mentioned by Claudian, who preferred to give his fancy full rein. The council of Eutropius may have been suggested by Juvenal, but the execution is quite independent. The whimsicality of a eunuch's rule for a time overpowers him. He develops the whole of the incongruousness of the situation in lines which are perfect examples of the mock-heroic, and are not surpassed by the Falstaffian scenes of Shakespeare! For the nonce he cannot be savage or ferocious but simply flings himself into the humours of his subject.

In yet another important point Claudian's imagination runs riot. The East is represented as imploring Stilicho to come to its aid¹. There is not the slightest reason to believe that Stilicho at this moment ever contemplated a march to the East. That prudent commander knew that before he could reach Arcadius, much more Tribigild, he must encounter Alaric securely

¹ 'in te iam spes sola mihi...succurre ruenti.' *In Eutr.* II. 591, 592; cf. I. 504, 'agnosco fremitum, quo palluit Eurus.' The West simply ignored the consulship of Eutropius, cf. the *Chronicles* and *de cons. Stil.* II. 291-311:

'opprobrii stat nulla fides nec littera venit
vulgatura nefas, in quo vel maxima virtus
est tua quod...de monstris taceas...'

'quaecumque profana
pagina de primo venisset limine Phoebi,
ante fretum deleta mihi, ne turpia castis
auribus Italiae fractorum exempla nocerent.'

established in Illyricum¹. It may be that this consciousness of the powerlessness of the West gave greater virulence to the invective against the East, whose destruction is repeatedly invoked. The concluding passage is then either the outpouring of a poet's enthusiasm, which always outruns the calculations of the statesman, or merely a piece of grateful flattery. In either case it is based on a complete defiance of the situation. Nor from the scarce half-a-dozen facts which Claudian vouchsafes us about Tribigild's rising could we construct even the skeleton of a historical narrative².

*The inner
history of
events.*

But if we consider the other narratives we find that the fall of Eutropius was not due merely to the conjugal scratches of Bellona³. The hiatus between the second book *In Eutropium* which tells of Tarbigild's insurrection and successes, and its preface, which announces the eunuch's overthrow⁴, can be filled from elsewhere. The part of the war-goddess was really played by Gainas at Constantinople.

Gainas.

From the accounts which have been transmitted to posterity, the character of Gainas appears to have been singularly unprepossessing. A certain lack of supple-

¹ 'vastator Achivae
gentis et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
praesidet Illyrico.' *In Eut.* II. 214-216.

² Seeck, *Philologus*, LII. p. 458, says the poem was unfinished. It ends not with the fall of Eutropius but with an appeal for help from the East. The following events did not please Stilicho as we may even gather from the poem, which displays virulent hostility towards Constantinople. Inscriptions shew that Aurelian's consulship was as little recognised as Eutropius', Rossi, I. 208. Another critic thinks Stilicho indiscreetly revealed his projects, but see above.

³ 'mirarique suas quas Bosphorus obruat, aedes.' *Ibid.* 340. Cf. too the passages previously quoted.

⁴ 'continuo secat ungue genas et tempore pandit
adrepto gemitus.' *Ibid.* 193, 194.

ness, barbarian stolidity, brutal callousness, ill-regulated and impotent ambition made him at once powerful and feeble. To outwit him was an easy task, and nothing save treachery could have secured him the mastery over his dexterous rival. His warrior qualities, his entire lack of scruple, his cold-blooded cruelty, lacked that element of address which might have made him supreme. A savage without the primitive virtues, a courtier without courtliness, the commander of the Eastern legions had scarcely greater influence than one of his own legionaries.

Claudian treated this general with consideration—he ignored him¹. And yet a poem ‘*In Gainam*’ would have afforded him a fertile theme for his declamations. But prudence forbade. Stilicho had a fellow-feeling for one who was like himself no Roman, and who was in a similar position. Gainas had served him well in the matter of Rufinus. The overthrow of Eutropius, attended by numerous instances of treachery and shameless cruelty as it was, could yet cover a multitude of sins, and so, in Claudian, he is enveloped in chiaroscuro. He acts behind the scenes, but is never allowed to tread the boards. His deeds were too dark, his character too foully stained for even the epic of the fourth century to heroise. Either as protagonist or as a foil to Stilicho he was an impossible character and Claudian knew it.

A great difficulty here besets us. It arises not from the absence of authorities but from their multifarious character. The causes and circumstances of

¹ His name does not occur once. Only in one passage is there a possible reference to him, *In Ruf.* ii. 385. One poet, Eusebius, did write a *Gainea*, but this is lost, *Socrates*, vi. 1, 6.

Eutropius' fall are narrated differently by almost every one of our sources. The most remarkable of these and at the same time the most perplexing is Synesius' *De Providentia*.

*The
Egyptian's
De Provi-
dentia.*

To translate allegory into historical facts is difficult enough, but to construct from allegory coloured by partisanship some trustworthy account is a labour of Hercules. Synesius had come to the capital on an embassy from Cyrene¹ and had at once, it seems, associated himself with the anti-German party led by Aurelian. The latter secured him immunities for his city and was favourable to him personally. In return for this Synesius denounced the present system of rule before the emperor with an ardour congenial to his fiery nature². But Aurelian fell³, and his successor kept Synesius at Constantinople for three years and annulled the previous grants. Synesius, who admits that through an excessive devotion to philosophy he had developed extreme boorishness, advocated his

¹ The chronology of this sojourn at the capital has been re-examined by Seeck, *Philologus*, LII. p. 442 seq., and his conclusions are generally accepted. Synesius did not depart before 402 A.D., p. 459, not in 400 A.D. He says he was kept at the city three years, *De insomniis*, 148. 'ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν βίος, βιβλία καὶ θήρα, ὅτι μὴ πεπρέσβευκά ποτε ὡς οὐκ ὄφελον ἀποφράδας ἰδεῖν ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς ἐκ τοῦ βίου.'

Aurelian was favourable, *de prov.* 113 c, Caesarius the reverse, 114 c, and 115 A.

² This marked a reaction against Theodosius' aim. 'Durch die Verbindung mit römischen Blut diesem selbst einen kräftigeren und reineren Gehalt zu geben.' He surrounded his throne with men like Richomer, Saul, Stilicho, Arbogast and Bauto. Gueldenpenning, p. 91 seq.

³ The Codex shews he was praefectus praetorio during 398 and 399 A.D., until October. The elevation of Aurelian had been 'für die Germanen ein deutlicher Fingerzeug dass sich am Hofe eine andere ihnen feindliche Strömung geltend mache,' p. 97, *ibid.* Synesius' audience, when the speech *de Regno* was delivered, was before the fall of Aurelius. Sec. 21 he says parts of the empire are ablaze. Volkmann, § 25, thinks it was later.

friend's cause in no half-hearted fashion, and in his allegorical pamphlet attacked Aurelian's great foe with considerable vehemence¹.

Friendship has transformed Synesius' facts. The centre of affairs has changed. Not Gainas, not Eutropius, the estimable but spiritless Aurelian is the pivot on which everything revolves. The history of the time is regarded by him as one long duel between Osiris, obviously Aurelian, and Typho, who has been identified lately with Caesarius². These men in the allegory appear as brothers of far different character. Osiris is devoted to learning, courteous, and irreproachable. Typho the elder is a libertine who offends all by his churlish manners. The latter forms a club to advance his position, but his tenure of various offices is only disastrous³. Osiris is unanimously preferred to Typho as king⁴, but magnanimously refuses to take violent measures against Typho, who makes use of the leader of the barbarians (obviously Gainas) to secure his ends. He works upon the fears of the latter's wife, who conveys his suggestions to her husband, then employed away from the city in a campaign⁵. A

¹ 'ὕπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀγροικότερον ἐκτεθραμμένος καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀστικὸν ἦθος ἀνομίλητος...ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν εὐγνώμων ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἢ μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐποίει καὶ ἔγραφε.' After A.'s banishment he restrained himself still less. 'καὶ ἀρὰς ἡρᾶτο τὰς παλαμναιστάτας Τυφῶνι καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων.'

² Seeck, *ibid.* p. 451, Eutychianus, not Typho. There is 'das sicherste Zeichen dass er geschäftlich brauchbar aber politisch ganz farblos war, und niemals die Leitung des Reiches an sich zu bringen versuchte.' The only other person possible is Caesarius. He, like Typho, was devoted to his wife and tinged with Arianism.

³ *De prov.* 4.

⁴ *Ibid.* 7. As an instance of Arcadius' insignificance, he only appears as a priest wise and good, and asserts no power.

⁵ *Ibid.* 15. 'ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν ἀλλοφύλων...τότε πόλεμόν τινα ἐπραττεν οὐκ εὐτυχῇ πρὸς μοῖράν τινα αὐτῶν ἀποστᾶσαν, καὶ κῶμαι τινες Αἰγυπτίων κακῶς ἐπεπράγεσαν, τοῦτο παρεσκευακότων ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶμα

coalition is formed which secures Typho and the general in the supremacy, and the city is delivered over to the barbarian's mercy¹. Typho then demands the death of Osiris, but the barbarians raise scruples, and merely send him into banishment. The second part of the allegory relates subsequent proceedings which concern us little, as after the fall of Eutropius Claudian ignores Eastern affairs. Finally Osiris is restored and virtue triumphs.

There is no doubt that this is a party pamphlet dealing with contemporary affairs², and it deserves but little trust³. Synesius had a simple, unsophisticated

δαίμωνων παρὰ τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα φοιτῶσα ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Τυφῶνος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀναπείθει βάρβαρον γραῦν καὶ ἄνδρον, τὸ παιπάλημα τὸ κερκῶπειον ὅτι τε αὐτῆς προκηδοῖτο καὶ ὅτι προορῶτο κακὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦξον.' Gainas' command will be taken from him and his dear children slain. 'ὅλως γὰρ ἐκτριβήσεσθαι τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τοῦτο ὁσημέραι πράττειν Ὀσίριν. καταλόγους τε ἀφανῶς πληροῦντα καὶ τᾶλλα προμηθεύμενα ὅπως ἂν ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν οἰκοῖεν Αἰγύπτιοι, τοὺς βαρβάρους ἢ κατακανόντες ἢ ἐξελάσαντες...ὁ Τυφῶς οἴκοι δακρύει· τὰ γὰρ ὑμέτερα φρονεῖ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀεὶ πεπολίτευται δι' οὓς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμάρτομεν.'

There is a vein of burlesque in this which renders it still more suspicious. The situation was such that the barbarians could only be expelled and slain by barbarians, an impassable obstacle to such a plot, and one which *ex hypothesi* had never been concocted.

¹ Caesarius appears in a very cynical light. He and his friends will give the movement an air of respectability. 'δόξετε γὰρ οὐδὲ μέγα τι παραχαράττειν, τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων κινεῖν, οὐδὲ μεθιστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλλὰ καθιστάναι καὶ διατιθέναι τῷ παντὶ λῶν...τὸ μὲν οὖν σχῆμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέτερον ἔσται, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑμέτερον.' This is quite incredible. ² 'οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν εἰ παμπάλαιον ἱστορίαν, ἔμβιον τε θεώμεθα καὶ ἐθεασάμεθά γε. εἰκάσει δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλο καὶ συγκύφουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτια συγγράμματα ἄνθρωποι λιγνυλα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔλκοντες ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὰ παρόντα τὴν ἡνιγμένην ἐμφέρειαν. ἀμέραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι.' II. 7.

³ It is not strange perhaps that historians have yet tried to extract something from it. Seeck, *Philologus*, vol. LII. p. 442, in speaking of the 'Osiris-mythos' (which one is tempted to translate the Osiris-Typho hoax) says 'die Aegypter sind eine der bedeutendsten aber zugleich auch eine der wunderlichsten Erscheinungen.' Gueldenpenning, p. 131, too, rates it highly, 'eine Art allegorisch-philosophischen Romans mit historischem Hintergrunde, ein Zeitgemälde von höchster

nature, and was as poor a historian as he was a theologian. His lack of insight and his 'genius for friendship' rendered him ill adapted for the task of writing a contemporary history. Though to his excited imagination Typho seemed a very Mephistopheles and Osiris an archangel incarnate, they were in reality mediocre practitioners of virtue and villainy. Did we not know from the Codex that Aurelian and Caesarius both held at different times the office of praefectus praetorio, we should scarcely have esteemed them of any importance whatever. The fact that Typho remained so long unidentified shews, not, surely, that some mysterious evil influence of whom we know nothing dominated the East¹, but that Synesius' Typho (and Osiris too) were mythic personages, created by the ardour of perfervid friendship and bitterest enmity. The same brilliant cavalier, who had so valiantly tilted against Byzantine windmills, a Don Quixote, striving with complete futility to recreate a long lost spirit and to give fresh life to moribund ideals², mistook his friend for a Scipio or a Caesar, and has left us a conspicuous monument of purposeless devotion. Aurelian was like Galba, 'capax regni, nisi regnasset.'

Wahrheitsliebe und Treue hinterlassen.' He adds, however, that on account of its mystical form much remains unintelligible. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i. p. 657, much more reasonably remarks, 'until Typho can be identified' (and even after we venture to add), 'it seems to me hardly wise to interweave this strange parable with authentic history.'

¹ The question of Typho's identity is in reality of little importance. If he had wielded such an influence as Synesius claims, the difficulty would assuredly have never arisen. Yet Gueldenpenning, p. 95, says 'gerade der Name einer der wichtigsten Persönlichkeiten völlig verschwiegen und verloren sein sollte.' 'Credat Judaeus.'

² Synesius 'Das Bild eines Staatswesens entrollt, welches dem oströmischen der damaligen Zeit gerade entgegengesetzt war.' Gueldenpenning, p. 106.

Zosimus'
account.

Other writers who have given less rein to their imagination, reveal the secret history of Tribigild's action¹. Eutropius' predominance provoked much jealousy. The senate was displeased, and Gainas was alienated by the scant reward his crime had gained from him who reaped the greatest benefits from it². Tribigild, his kinsman, was a convenient tool. A plot was arranged at Constantinople, and Tribigild, 'ἀνὴρ φιλοκίνδυνος καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀπόνοιαν ἐτοιμότητος,' departed to set it afoot. On his way to his encampment in Phrygia³, he slaughtered and plundered, enlisted a number of slaves and desperate persons, and brought Asia into the direst peril. Lydia too was disturbed, and all the inhabitants fled to the sea and to the islands. Arcadius, who lacked all grasp of events⁴, was completely untroubled, being intolerably senseless, but measures were taken. Two generals, not one, as Claudian says, are sent out, Gainas and Leo. The latter sailed to Asia, the former, it was arranged, should cross the Hellespontine strait. Leo,

¹ Zosimus, Philostorgius and Socrates.

² He was 'magister utriusque militiae,' according to Socrates, vi.; Sozomenos uses a similar phrase. He seems to have been only a cipher.

³ Socrates, viii. 4, says he was captain 'πολυανθρώπου τάγματος,' in Phrygia. Claudian, *In Eutr.* ii. 221, calls it small; 'numerusque tuorum respicis exiguamque manum.' The war did not begin till after Eutropius' consulship.

'quales sese diffudit in actus
parva quies, quantum nocuerunt otia ferri,
qui caruit bellis, eunucho traditur annus.'

In Eutr. ii. 120-2.

There had been military operations before, on the strength of which Eutropius claimed the consulship.

'quid te, turpissime, bellis
inseris aut saevi pertemptas Pallada campi?...
...gestis pro talibus annum
flagitet Eutropius.'

Ibid. 242-6.

⁴ ἐσχάτως ἀνόητος ὤν. Zosimus, v. 14.

as Claudian stated, possessed not the slightest qualification for the office of general save intimacy with Eutropius. Gainas was anxious that Tribigild should cross over into Europe, but this was too bold a step for him. However he subdued all Phrygia and Pisidia, and ravaged without hindrance¹.

Leo was afraid to give battle, and remained inactive. Tribigild availed himself of the opportunity, seized all the cities and destroyed all the inhabitants. Gainas now crossed over, but contented himself with the rôle of spectator. However when Tribigild made his way to Pamphylia, he found an opponent in Valentius, who gathered some forces, well trained by conflicts with similar marauding expeditions of the Gauls. The result was that Tribigild bought from Valentius a departure for himself and three hundred men, thinking Leo a safer adversary². Leo, in obedience to the orders of Gainas, attacked, although luxurious and enervated, but Gainas fearing that otherwise Tribigild would be lost, sent some of his own soldiers to destroy the Roman camp at the same time. His tortuous manoeuvres continued, and he soon declared that he was not a match for Tribigild, whose demands he advised should be granted. Making Tribigild his catspaw, he announced that the latter required the surrender at discretion of Eutropius³. This message necessarily resulted in

¹ Zosimus, v. 13, 'ὁ δὲ (Εὐτρόπιος) Γαίνην αἰρεῖται καὶ Λέοντα στρατηγούς.' Tribigild, 'πάσαν δὲ καταστρεψάμενος τὴν Φρυγίαν προσέβαλλε καὶ Πισίδαις, κωλύματος οὐδενὸς πειραθείς.'

² The ease with which Valentius overcame Tribigild shews the miserable disorganisation and lack of spirit which prevailed elsewhere, and also how clumsy and ill-judged Gainas' acts of treason were. It was seen later that Gainas' dull-witted villainy prevented him from conducting any treacherous enterprise to a successful issue.

³ Zosimus, v. 17, 'λέγων ὡς ἀπειρήκοι τῇ περὶ τὰ πολέμα Τριβιγίλδου

Eutropius' dismissal. He rushed straightway to a Christian church, and took sanctuary. Gainas, contrary to the law enacted on the subject¹, took him out and sent him to Cyprus under a strict guard². Then by a base equivocation he disregarded his oath which, according to his interpretation, guaranteed Eutropius safety only at Constantinople, and had him slain at Chalcedon³.

*Other
accounts.*

Nor can this account be accepted unquestioningly, for still another explanation of the eunuch's fall is given by Philostorgius and Socrates. They state that this was due to some threats which Eutropius injudiciously let fall one day to the empress⁴. Indignant, doubtless, at such language from the author of her greatness, she rushed to the emperor, who for once shewed kingly spirit⁵. Eutropius, stript of his wealth and honours, was sent to Cyprus. Then for a trivial offence against the imperial majesty he was recalled, solemnly tried by Aurelian and others, and put to death⁶. Socrates again puts the revolt of Tribigild

δεινότητι...τὰ δὲ τῶν αἰτήσεων εἶναι Εὐτρόπιον ἐκδοθῆναι οἱ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶττειν ὅτι βούλοιτο.'

The collapse of Eutropius merely shews how bankrupt his administration was. No minister with a spark of resolution would have been overcome by such a petty crisis, and such puerile treasons.

¹ Zosimus, v. 18, 1. This is inaccurate. The statute of Eutropius so often mentioned had abolished this right of asylum.

² Zosimus, v. 18, 'εἰς τὴν Κύπρον ἐκέμπουσιν, ὑπὸ φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ καταστήσαντες.' Cf. Claudian, *In Eutr.* ii. pref. 10; 'annus qui trabeas hic dedit exilium.' *Ibid.* 52, 'tibi sub Cypri litore pacta quies.'

³ Zosimus, v. 18, 'σοφισζόμενοι τὸν ὄρκον...μετάπεμpton μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου ποιοῦνται...εἰς Χαλκηδὸνα πέμψαντες ἀποσφάττουσι.'

⁴ Philostorgius, xi. 6, 'περιυβρισθεῖσα, ὡς καὶ ἀπειλὴν αὐτῇ ἐπενεγκεῖν. ὡς εἶχεν, ἀγκαλισαμένη τὰ παῖδια διὰ χειρὸς ἑκατέρας, προσέρχεται τῷ ἀνδρὶ.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, 'καὶ δὴ τότε, τοῖς τε θυμοῖς καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐμβριθεῖα τῶν λόγων ὁ Ἀρκάδιος βασιλεὺς ἦν.'

⁶ Philostorgius, xi. 6, 'ὅθεν αὐτίκα τὸν Εὐτρόπιον τιμῆς τε ἀπάσης περιδύει καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ εἰς Κύπρον τὴν νῆσον φυγαδεύει...

after the death of Eutropius, and in his account, not Eutropius' surrender, but that of Aurelian and Saturninus is demanded by Gainas¹.

It is singular that neither Chrysostom nor Claudian speaks of the actual cause of Eutropius' fall². It is evident from Claudian's poem, which was written apparently soon after the first news came, that Tribigild was already in revolt and therefore Socrates' account must be rejected. The two motives assigned for Eutropius' fall cannot be satisfactorily combined as Tillemont attempts to do. 'Arcade touché tout ensemble des larmes de la femme et de ses enfants et de la nécessité des affaires, se souvint donc enfin qu'il était prince.' v. 455. The blending in one outburst of passion of the wrath at an insult to the empress, and a politic misgiving that Eutropius' management of affairs was leading to disasters, is indeed a masterpiece of psychology. Either motive is

μετάπεμπος ἀπὸ Κύπρου γίγνεται... αἰτίας ὁ Εὐτρόπιος ἀλοὺς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφαιρεῖται.' Others, as Photius proceeds, give other accounts of his fall, and his death.

Socrates, vi. 5, 'προσκρούσας τῷ βασιλεῖ.'

Sozomenos, viii. 7, 'ὥς εἰς τὴν βασιλείας γαμετὴν ὑβρίσας ἐπιβουλευθεῖς.'

¹ Socrates, vi. 6, 'ἐξαιτοῦντος... οὗς ἐπενόει ἐκκόψειν αὐτοῦ τὰς ὀρμάς.' Claudian's contemporary testimony puts this sequence of events out of question. It is true, however, that Aurelian's surrender was demanded.

² Eutropius fell probably in the summer of 399 A.D., Birt, *Introd.* p. xxxiv. The court was preparing to go to Ancyra, *In Eutr.* ii. 95. 'concidit exiguae dementia vulnere chartae; confecit saevum littera Martis opus,' *In Eutr.* ii. pref. 19, 20. This is most likely Gainas' letter announcing Tribigild's terms. It could possibly be Arcadius' edict, *Codex* ix. 40, 17. Chrysostom speaks of the emperor being insulted, but he is not explicit enough for us to connect this with Philostorgius' statement unhesitatingly. Keller wrongly says it was a letter from Stilicho; that would effect nothing. Yet Seeck, *Philologus*, lxi. 455, interprets Claudian unnecessarily thus. With the fall of Eutropius may be compared the fall of Stilicho 408 A.D.

adequate, but they could not simultaneously come into action. It is impossible at the same moment to be an outraged husband and a discreet statesman¹. Nor can we agree that Synesius had, as Seeck says, the best information, or at any rate that he availed himself of it. Gainas' treachery seems to have been preconcerted and not the result of a sudden panic. This is not inconsistent with his urging in defence of his action the plea that he feared his position at Constantinople was unsafe. A systematic massacre of the Goths must have appeared even to Gainas' suspicious nature a hairbrained plot. Typho must be deposed from his villainous pedestal and Gainas set in his place. The only statement of Synesius which other authorities confirm is that Gainas and Aurelian belonged to different parties. Synesius evidently thought meanly of Gainas' political abilities, probably with justice, but he was, with his troops, more formidable than any other leading man of the time. Eudoxia's displeasure with Eutropius would be sufficient to ensure his destruction, but we may doubt whether this caused his fall². Philostorgius' account of Eudoxia's anger, and her babes screaming

¹ Seeck, *ibid.*, makes an elaborate attempt at reconciliation. 'Diese Zeugen berichten, also sehr Verschiedenes, aber ohne doch miteinander unvereinbar zu sein.' Each authority is engrossed in one point of view. Eunapius at Sardis thought only of Asia Minor and its woes, Claudian thought only of Stilicho. (This difficulty is gratuitous; see above.) This is not convincing. But he well observes; 'es ist sehr charakteristisch für das freundliche Verhältnis in welchem Stilicho zu Gainas stand, dass Claudian in seiner Schilderung des unglücklichen Krieges gegen Tribigild, den einen Feldherrn des oströmischen Heeres, Leo, mit den grössten Schmähungen überhaupt, den andern, eben unsern Gainas, gar nicht erwähnt, obgleich dieser an den Niederlagen der Römer ganz dieselbe und vielleicht noch grössere Schuld trug.' Gainas was a creature of Stilicho. Before reading this I had emphasised this point.

² Gueldenpenning, p. 112, thinks this incident may have shattered his influence. This is less forced than Seeck's hypothesis.

in sympathy seems somewhat embellished, and in Chrysostom we find Arcadius pleading for Eutropius with his soldiers and recounting his services. This is highly improbable if Arcadius himself had just expressed his anger at Eutropius' presumption. Eutropius seems to have fallen through some mutinous action of the soldiery, excited perhaps by Gainas' letter urging Eutropius' surrender, and perhaps even fomented by agents of Gainas. At any rate we must choose one of the two motives which our authorities suggest, we may not take both.

Of his actual overthrow Chrysostom preserves a striking picture, and combines with this an appeal to pity Eutropius in his abasement. Chrysostom might well have a friendly feeling for Eutropius. The latter had secured him the see of Constantinople by bringing pressure to bear on Theophilus¹, and even the law against sanctuary had not altogether destroyed this feeling. He compares the rich banquets and the swarms of friends to waking dreams, a passing shadow, a bubble which has burst. Chrysostom was truly a friend when he spoke plainly to him, his words were salutary. Let us not trample on the fallen but rather draw the moral. All wealth is fortuitous and more worthless than the veriest nothing. He acquired wealth in the whole world, all feared him, yet no picture of the horrors of his condition is vivid enough. Yesterday men came from the palace to seize him, and he is in fear of imminent death. Glorify God, my brothers; by this chance does Eutropius learn the power and kindness of the Church. This is more glorious than any trophy. The Church, bearing no

*The fall of
Eutropius.*

¹ Socrates, viii. 2.

ill-will, screens him and stands forth against the royal anger. He had cut off this refuge by law, yet he is the first to break the law. He has taught us a great moral lesson.

When the emperor heard that Eutropius had taken sanctuary, he sent soldiers to surround the church, and to demand his surrender. They demanded retribution for the insulted king, and called for the death penalty¹. Arcadius, bursting into tears, stayed them for a time, reminding them of the Holy Table at which he had taken refuge. Chrysostom now appeals to the people to join with him in interceding with the emperor, and begging him grant one man to the Holy Table².

Chrysostom might well out of policy incline to mercy, for no better opportunity of vindicating the right of sanctuary could arise. The more unworthy the suppliant, the stronger the need to maintain the principle. There was an added piquancy in doing this on behalf of the

¹ This seems strongly against Philostorgius' account. It is the army which 'παροξυνόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῷ πεπλημμελημένων, εἰς σφαγὴν αἰτεῖ.' The emperor speaks at length and tries to soothe them. Eutropius had not lost his ascendancy with Arcadius, cf. 'ἀξιῶν (Ἀρκάδιος) μὴ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τι αὐτῷ γέγονε κατόρθωμα καὶ τοῦτο λογιζέσθαι.' Arcadius saves Eutropius only with difficulty. The latter homily supplements this. 'παρήτε κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ ἐβλέπετε ὅσα ἐκινεῖτο ὄπλα καὶ θυμὸς στρατιωτικὸς πυρὸς σφοδρότερος καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς αὐλὰς ἐπειγόμεθα. ἀλλὰ τί; τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς κατέπληξε...ἀπηγόμην δὲ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ὕβρις ἐμοὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον. ὕβρις γάρ ἐν μόνον ἐστίν, ἡ ἁμαρτία.'

Arcadius is simply an instrument in the hands of his guards with a faint predilection for Eutropius. The soldiery obviously treated Chrysostom spitefully, and sought to intimidate him. 'ἤλθε στρατόπεδον καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἠφίει...ξίφη γεγύμνωτο καὶ τραύματα οὐδεὶς ἐδέξατο.'

² Claudian confirms the statement that Eutropius took sanctuary, one of the very few references to anything Christian which he has. *In Eutr.* II. pref. 27, 'suppliciterque pias humilis prostratus ad aras.' It was not however the mob of former masters whom he dreaded, as Claudian would have it, but the angry soldiers. Other places are *In Eutr.* I. 316, and the poem *In Jacobum*.

original challenger of the right. In this case Eutropius had blundered into a meritorious deed. He could hardly allow an ‘imperium in imperio’ to be formed without strenuous opposition. But circumstances were too strong, and the Church’s power continued to increase.

The orator’s pleading secured a transient triumph, the fleeting character of which a homily delivered a few days later reveals only too well¹. It is a masterpiece of special pleading, intended to prove that the Church had not betrayed Eutropius. ‘Say not that Eutropius was delivered up, but that he surrendered himself². Remain in the Church and thou shalt not be delivered up, for there it is not walls but God’s providence which establishes thee. The Church triumphs when it is attacked, and emerges more glorious from contumely. Learn from this the vanity of temporal things. Wealth is a runaway, and works destruction.’

The declamation is magnificent, but Chrysostom protests too much. Eutropius’ weakness had saved him from a grave embarrassment. It would have been difficult to protect Eutropius against the fury of the soldiers, and Chrysostom can scarcely have pressed Eutropius to maintain his position. He temporised, and the Church’s honour was preserved by an apparently voluntary withdrawal. He could not, therefore, with perfect honesty, only a few days after, claim that the Church was vindicated, and chide Eutropius for his serviceable claim. The ironical character of the whole affair led to much confusion of thought. The virtual

¹ He himself wonders ‘ ἄρα σωφρονήσονται οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα; ἄρα οὐ παρέρχονται δύο ἡμέραι καὶ λήθῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα παραδίδονται.’

² ‘ οὐκ ἐνδόθεν παρεδόθη ἀλλὰ ἐξωθεν.’ The result was due to his μικροψυχία.

expulsion of Eutropius, the violator of sanctuaries, was hailed by some writers as a signal vindication of the Church's liberties. It was the reverse. Eutropius' banishment proved that the Church could not maintain its claim of sanctuary to an unlimited extent or in every circumstance. Eutropius dismissed to Cyprus secured only a few months' respite, and the privilege of being slain at Chalcedon instead of in the capital. Claudian professes himself perfectly satisfied¹, and demonstrates the appropriateness of his residence at Cyprus in view of his past history. He pictures Venus' handmaids on lofty cliffs straining their eyes in anxious expectation of the approach of Cytherea's minion, dreading that the Tritons may carry him off to woo the Nereids for them². The fact that the poem does not mention his violent end is not surprising in view of Claudian's habit of rapid composition. Claudian shews that the downfall took place in the year of the consulship, when the court returned to its better judgment and spewed out the plague³. It is interesting to notice the different morals which the Christian and the pseudo-Christian writer derive. The one pleads for pity, the other sees in the affair only Fortune's mad freak. Let every eunuch

¹ *In Eutr.* II. preface 47, 'vive pudor fatis.' But *In Eutr.* II. 21:
'at vos egregie purgatam creditis aulam
Eutropium si Cyprus habet.'

Here, however, he is only venting his spleen on Constantinople; thus the inconsistency is trifling.

² 'emeritam suspende togam, suspende pharetram;
ad Veneris partes ingeniumque redi...
sed vereor teneant ne te Tritones in alto
lascivas doctum fallere Nereidas.'

In Eutr. II. pref. 68.

³ 'annus qui trabeas hic dedit exilium...
abluto penitus respirant nomine fasti
maturamque luem sanior aula vomit.'

Ibid. v. 15, cf. Prosper Tiro.

of like ambition look to Cyprus, and desist from ferocity¹.

The bitter tone of the references to the East may be due to that proclamation of Stilicho as a public enemy—the outcome of that savage hatred which was at last in every man's mouth. A revulsion of feeling has taken place in that brief space since the poem on Gildo was written². Nor was the situation greatly improved by the eunuch's fall. The East, following the West, erased his name from the consular fasti, but though there is not the same bitterness, no signs of any *rapprochement* were shewn.

The edict in which Eutropius' ruin was announced ix. 40, 17. is a remarkable document³. The composer of it seems at a loss for words to express his loathing of the consulship, 'snatched from his vile filth, delivered from besmirching degradation⁴.' His acts are ordered to fall into oblivion that none may groan who have extended the Roman bounds by their valour, or who protect them by the equity of guarding law. Let him know that he loses the divine gift of the consulship, a portent marred by his taint, and all other honours. Let all his statues,

¹ 'quisquis adhuc similis eunuchus tendit in actus respiciens Cyprum desinat esse ferox.'

² Zosimus, v. 12, 'ἡ Εὐτροπίου δυσμένεια καὶ Στελίχωνος ἀνεκαλύπτετο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων στόμασιν ἦν.'

Yet again the situation changes chameleon-like, cf. *de cons. Stil.* II. 78. Stilicho will not hold Arcadius responsible for the frenzy of those who used the imperial name as a cloak.

³ *Codex Theodosianus* ix. 40, 17, Jan. 17, 399. The date, on a *priori* grounds unsatisfactory, must be wrong, for Aurelian was not yet praefectus praetorio, cf. Mommsen, vol. i. 2, p. 505.

⁴ 'omnes res Eutropi, aerarii nostri calculis adiunximus, erepto splendore eius et consulatu a taetra inluevie et caenosis sordibus vindicato, ut eiusdem universis actibus antiquatis omnia mutescant tempora...nec ingemiscant aut qui sua virtute ac vulneribus Romanos fines propagant vel qui eosdem servandi iuris aequitate custodiunt.'

whether in bronze or marble, whether coloured or of whatsoever material, be destroyed, lest the age be polluted by the sight of him¹. Let him be taken to Cyprus and there under strict guard be debarred from embroiling everything by the madness of his designs².

¹ 'patriciatus etiam dignitate atque omnibus inferioribus spoliatum se esse cognoscat, quas morum polluit scaevitate omnes statuas, omnia simulacra, tam ex aere quam ex marmore, seu ex fucis quam ex quacumque materia quae apta est effingendis ab omnibus civitatibus... praecipimus aboleri.'

² 'adhibitis itaque fidis custodibus ad Cyprum insulam perducatur...ut...nequeat suarum cogitationum rabie cuncta miscere.' This edict is most valuable as confirming in many points the statements which Claudian makes.

CHAPTER VI.

Stilicho's consulship 400 A.D.—His administration.

STILICHO was at length persuaded to allow himself to be made consul for the next year, 400 A.D., the only course, according to his friends, which could avail to rehabilitate that office¹. Claudian seized the opportunity not merely to write a congratulatory poem, but to celebrate the career of his hero to the extent of three books. In the first he extolled his military achievements, in the second his prowess in peace, and in another his presence in Rome and the games he held². It will be a convenient point at which, with Claudian, to examine Stilicho's general administration of the affairs of the West³.

Stilicho's more important military undertakings

¹ 'nullo sarciri consule damnum
excepto Stilichone potest...consul succurre gravatis
consulibus, quicumque fuit quicumque futurus.'

de cons. Stil. II. 315.

² It was once thought that the third book dealt with the second consulship of Stilicho, but this view is now generally abandoned.

³ Claudian had gone over the ground before in the poem *de IV. cons. Hon.* He now amplifies and extends what he had said before.

have already been discussed, but others are mentioned of the man to whom it was due

'quod floret Latium, Latio quod reddita servit
Africa, vicinum quod nescit Hiberia Maurum,
tuta quod imbellem miratur Gallia Rhenum.'

*Successes
in Gaul.*

Stilicho's first success had been immediately after the death of Theodosius, who had left upon his shoulders a burden greater than that of Atlas¹. The change of government had not caused the slightest difficulty. Nought did turbulent innovation essay, breaking the bonds of olden time; the world felt not the change of rider². The two armies which were so hostile in language and feeling, which stood to one another in the relation of victor and vanquished, were fused into one. Theodosius' Oriental host, the Colchians, Arabs, Sacae, Medes and Indians, faced the Gaul. Yet was there no disorder, the sword quietly obeyed the law³.

*Stilicho on
the Rhine.*

With this well-disciplined army Stilicho's first operations had been against the peoples of the Rhine⁴. Stilicho hastened on swift horses to the Rhaetian Alps and unaccompanied reaches the hostile banks, where his presence compels submission. The Sygambri and the Franks prostrated themselves and sued for peace,

¹ *de cons. Stil.* i. 140-7.

² *Ibid.* 150:

'tantoque remoto
principe mutatas orbis non sensit harenas.'

³

'ductor Stilicho tot gentibus unus,
quot vel progrediens vel conspicit occiduus sol...
ut...placidi servirent legibus enses.'

de cons. Stil. i. 160-7.

⁴

'hunc tamen in primis populos lenire feroces
et Rhenum pacare iubes. volat ille citatis
vectus equis nullaue latus stipante caterva,
aspera nubiferas qua Raetia porrigit Alpes,
pergit et hostiles (tanta est fiducia) ripas
incomitatus adit.'

IV. cons. Hon. 439-444.

and the Alamannian follows suit. The Bructerian, Cimbrian, and the Cherusci of the Elbe, and the fierce Bastarnae all approached him. He yields to their entreaties and grants them the mighty boon of peace. So was the Rhine tamed in as many days as Trajan took years, by colloquy not arms¹. Stilicho sailed down the Rhine to its division. The Germans were charmed with him and returned well satisfied at their reception².

The action of Stilicho was undoubtedly prompt and the success was well deserved. The rebellious tendencies of the Gauls and of the German tribes beyond the Rhine were checked at the outset. Throughout the next ten years the Empire experienced no trouble from this quarter, even though the war with Alaric caused it to be left unguarded³. The sword was beaten into a ploughshare and the horns of the threatening Rhine were minished. It was difficult now to tell which was the Roman side. A hunting expedition to the Hercynian forest, so the poet would have us believe, was quite safe. It was in no sense a reconquest of Germany, but only a re-establishment of Roman prestige. Claudian loves to introduce a string of names

¹ ‘quod longis alii bellis potuere mereri,
hoc tibi dat Stilichonis iter.’

IV. cons. Hon. 458-9.

Cf. ‘cedant, Druse, tui, cedant, Traiane, labores,
vestra manus dubio quidquid discrimine gessit,
transcurrens egit Stilicho totidemque diebus
edomuit Rhenum, quot vos potuistis in annis.’

de cons. Stil. i. 193-7.

² ‘ad bifidos tractus, et pax a fonte profecta
cum Rheni crescebat aquis.’ *Ibid.* 202.

³ ‘grates Gallus agit quod limite tutus inermi
et metuens hostile nihil nova culmina totis
aedificat ripis.’ *de cons. Stil.* ii. 186.

The result some time after was the rise of a usurper.

once famed in story ('ingentia quondam nomina'), of kings suppliant at his hero's feet. The nearer tribes doubtless gave hostages, and many paid him the homage of an embassy, but it is merely obsequious hyperbole to speak of the North bloodlessly enthralled, the Wains disarmed, and all between Boreas and the Danube's source trembling¹. It is incredible that the expedition was completed in one moon², but Stilicho still had time after this campaign to start for Greece with a large host by land, a proceeding which must have taken most of the remainder of the year.

One object of this Rhenish expedition was the procuring of recruits. This proved easy; the tribes of the North were as ready as ever to sell their swords³. The Franks were given kings, and the Empire's power over the tributary princes was vindicated in the case of Sunno and Marcomeres. One chieftain was banished⁴ to Etruria, the other was slain by his own people in an attempt to avenge his friend⁵. We gather that both

1 'sine caede subactus
servitio Boreas exarmatique Triones.'
de cons. Stil. i. 216-7.

2 'luna nuper nascente profectus
ante redis, quam tota fuit, Rhenumque minacem
cornibus infractis...mitescere cogis.' *Ibid. 219-221.*
'viator cum videat ripas, quae sit Romana, requirat...
ut procul Hercyniae per vasta silentia silvae
venari tuto liceat.' *Ibid. 229.*

3 'cum barbarus ultro iam cupiat servire tibi.'
IV. cons. Hon. 484-490.

'quotiens sociare catervas
oravit iungique tuis Alamannia signis.'
de cons. Stil. i. 233-4.

According to Claudian the request was refused, but this was not usual, cf. *III. 52*, 'qui militat omnis Gallia.'

⁴ One writer states that Marcomeres survived Sunno. He therefore was banished to Etruria. Tillemont, v. p. 487.

⁵ Volz thinks this outbreak was the reason why the war with

had attempted to stir up disorder and were considered turbulent. But the result shewed that even their own tribe would not support them. Such successes, considerable though not dazzling, suffice as a basis for the fervid eulogy of Germany reconquered¹.

But ‘peace hath her victories no less renowned than war,’ or in Claudian’s phrase, ‘armati referam vires? ‘plus egit inermis.’ ‘Now let the Muse with less tense strings tell of the pacific arts by which Stilicho directs the world².’

The busy years 395–400 A.D. were crowded with events. They left Stilicho with little opportunity for carrying out great administrative reforms, even if he had

Book II.

His administration.

Alaric in Greece was ended, but Schulz, p. 8, rightly says the reason is too trivial. He puts it after the Gildonic War.

‘sub iudice nostro
regia Romanus disquirat crimina carcer.
Marcomeres Sunnoque docet; quorum alter Etruscum
pertulit exilium, cum se promitteret alter
exulis ultorem, iacuit mucrone suorum;
res avidi concire novas odioque furentes
paci et ingenio scelerumque cupidine fratres.’

de cons. Stil. i. 239–245.

¹ Stilicho had also made his power felt in Britain, and had checked Saxon piracy, already a trouble:

‘me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus,’ inquit,
(sc. Caledonia) ‘munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scottus Hivernen
movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
Scottica, ne Pictum tremere, ne litore toto
prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.’

Ibid. ii. 250 sq.

It is evident that the troubles which came so thickly upon Britain a few years later had their origin in the time of the Roman occupation, cf. the exploits of the elder Theodosius, *IV. cons. Hon. 28 sq.* But Claudian’s accounts of these distant exploits cannot be trusted. His main desire is to introduce as many proper names as possible.

²

‘nunc qualibus orbem
moribus et quanto frenet metuendus amore...
mitior incipiat fidibus iam Musa remissis.’

Ibid. 1–6.

contemplated such a policy. The Codex Theodosianus seems to shew that his administration was tolerant, conciliatory and comparatively efficient¹. Claudian claims that the spirit of ancient Rome was again revived. Stilicho's choice of governors was good, and they were granted extended terms of office². His rule was free from bloodshed, informers were discountenanced, the tribute was not continually raised. There were no proscriptions nor sales of confiscated goods, nor did Stilicho seek personal advancement by such means³. His generosity never degenerated into prodigality; the soldiers, well and regularly paid, were quiet and orderly, and took their cue from their general⁴.

*His
virtues.*

These remarks from an earlier poem are amplified

¹ We have little evidence however. *Codex* XIII. 11, 15 shews that an official named Strator was deprived of his office for injustice committed in Africa.

Stilicho offended Ambrose by his action on one occasion as regards the right of sanctuary. Paulinus, *Vit. Ambr.* 14, 'missis militibus... ut Cresconius quidam de ecclesia raperetur.' Some alarming portents occurred, and Stilicho tactfully waived his claims and was reconciled. When Ambrose died he is reported to have said that the ruin of Italy was impending—a generous compliment. Stilicho seems to have been justified in the matter of Cresconius, for Ambrose 'seeing that he was incorrigible and charged with most serious offences' exiled him. Symmachus, VII. 38, suggests that the soldiers returning from Africa in 398 A.D. were disorderly.

In v. 54 he complains of an attempt made to deprive Ampelius of lands he enjoyed for 30 years, 'non possessionis antiquitatem, non dignitatis senatoriae praerogativae praerogativam, non praefecturae existimationem sinit inconcussam manere. his ausibus color fiscalis adlinitur.' We need not hold Stilicho responsible for this, nor do we hear of similar cases.

² 'sic iustos in pace legis longumque tueris
electos crebris nec succedentibus urges.'

IV. cons. Hon. 489, 490.

³ 'nullae nobilium caedes; non crimina vulgo
texuntur...impia continui cessant augmenta tributi
nec tua privatis crescant aeraria damnis.'

Ibid. 494-500.

⁴ 'utque ducum lituos sic mores castra sequantur.'

de cons. Stil. I. 169.

in the second book of the panegyric upon Stilicho. If we cannot ascribe to Stilicho all the qualities which his admirers would bestow upon him, we must at least admit that Claudian has been very successful in depicting the lineaments of an ideal statesman¹. The qualities are not such as we should expect to find widely admired, still less widely practised, in the beginning of the fifth century. Fidelity, clemency, a generous disregard of all scandalmongering, unswerving loyalty to the claims of friendship (exemplified in his treatment of Honorius), endurance and prudence are his chief merits. The vicious current of the time², which had made a law of habit, had never caused him to deviate from integrity. And—not least of merits in the eyes of his eulogist—under his benign influence the arts bloom again, the Muses raise their heads, honoured by a troop of votaries in every class³.

To Stilicho’s formidable list of virtues, Claudian adds as imposing a list of vices which he lacks⁴. In none of its forms had luxury attracted him. Engrossed in affairs, he had little time for even the more pardonable relaxations. The treasure was not drained for banquets and drinking songs. The soldiery esteem their general as highly as ever, though there are no lavish donatives⁵. He is destitute of every particle of arrogance, and easy of access. His social qualities extend even to an ample

¹ ‘sparguntur in omnes, in te mixta fluunt.’ *de cons. Stil.* i. 33.
For his several virtues cf. ii. 12–172.

² ‘gurgēs corruptior aevi.’

³ ‘hinc priscae redeunt artes; felicibus inde
ingeniis aperitur iter despectaque Musae
colla levant.’ *Ibid.* ii. 126–131.

⁴ *Ibid.* 131–172.

⁵ This may be intended as a denial of the charges made against Stilicho, that he by his dissipations let Alaric escape. Besides *de cons. Stil.* ii. 131–140, see i. 92–94.

supply of small talk, which enables him to converse alike with sage or soldier¹.

Whether Stilicho was the single upright man in a degenerate, corrupt age, is a question difficult if not insoluble. Claudian alone ascribes to him those qualities, from which in any case Rome derived no lasting benefit. Other writers assign him a place amongst that rabble of venal and treacherous intriguers who almost monopolised the government of the time. His attractive personal qualities, in describing which Claudian is vividly convincing, do not help us to pass a judgment upon his public policy. He seems at least to have possessed a larger measure of generosity than any other prominent men of the time², and this was shewn in his execution of the tolerant designs of Theodosius. He appears, though at times an exponent of Machiavellian methods, to have had more scruples about taking human life than his contemporaries, and to have avoided bloodshed wherever it was possible. Mercy is the quality in Claudian's claim on behalf of Stilicho which can least be contested. But he was yet inevitably corrupted by his environment, and by the peculiarities of his position. He was a half-Romanised Vandal. He had lost the primitive brutality which disfigured Gainas, and had strangely acquired in its stead a leaning to tortuous intrigue, which often baffles us in the attempt to penetrate his motives. He was but half a Roman, and this was shewn in his dealings with Alaric, to quote Orosius' phrase, 'semper victus,

¹ 'te doctus prisca loquentem,
te matura senex audit, te fortia miles
adpersis salibus.' *de cons. Stil.* II. 168-170.

² Tozzetti calls him 'il Mario de sui tempi infelicissimi.' But Stilicho had not Marius' savagery.

semper dimissus.' His hatred of the Goths could not be as whole-hearted as the hatred of the Romans, or even of Claudian the Alexandrian, and his political insight shewed him Rome's need of fresh primitive energy. This, together with a singular vacillation, a contradiction of his usual energy and resolute courage, led to those intricate dealings with Alaric, which we can hardly hope altogether to comprehend. It is the very largeness of Stilicho's stature compared with the puny average of cabal and cruelty of the time, which renders the inconsistencies of his character more startling. His contradictions proceeded at once from that deep-seated half-heartedness of his, and from that as marked debility of the Roman empire.

The encomia upon Stilicho must be subjected to a substantial discount. No one man could take in hand the rusting machine of Roman government, or do more than galvanise it into momentary efficiency. To achieve more would have required an administrative revival. It may be that he saw the baleful influence of the canker of bureaucracy and sought to overcome it by enlisting the cooperation of the Roman senate. The latter was consulted in new enactments, and in the reform of ancient laws. In the case of Gildo the senate was permitted to revive one of its ancient rights, and to proclaim him a public enemy. Claudian proudly relates that no military step was taken before the senate, in accordance with ancient precedent, advised war. But these were only well-meaning anachronisms; what had Romulus or Cato to do with Honorius¹? It

¹ 'Romuleas leges rediisse fatemur,
cum procerum iussis famulantia cernimus arma.'

de cons. Stil. i. 331-2.

Stilicho may also have felt that he did not understand Rome

was not men of the stamp of Symmachus, amiably vapid, courteously banal, who could set in course any reformation. In such a soil place-hunting and favouritism flourished. The senate was an estimable society for mutual admiration, but nothing more¹. 'Solo poterit Stilichone medente crescere Romanum vulnus tectura cicatrix².' He alone could assume every function, and Briareus-like take arms against a sea of troubles³. If Stilicho, as his friends claimed⁴, had restored to Rome her empire, he had not given with that the means of keeping it.

*His
religious
policy.*

In religious matters Stilicho seems to have been latitudinarian, and abstained from sectarian quarrels as far as that was possible. The poems of Claudian shew how skin-deep the official Christianity of the time could be⁵. Claudian courteously ignores Christianity⁶. The nearest approach to a religious belief which Claudian had was a poetic regard for the gods of Olympus, who continued to live in poetry long after they were dead everywhere else. We do not find repeated edicts denouncing upon heretics all the penalties which a heated imagination could devise. The rights of the

perfectly and so wished to enlist the Senate's help. If this is the case the attempt failed. The judicial power ascribed to the people in one passage is very obscure. Schulz, p. 13. So in 408 A.D. Stilicho consulted the Senate re Alaric's demands.

¹ 'quis Briareus aliis numero crescente lacertis
tot simul obiectis posset configere rebus?'

de cons. Stil. i. 304-5.

² *De cons. Stil.* ii. 205. ³ Cf. Symmachus, *passim*.

⁴ 'quam tu belloque fameque
depulsa terris iterum regnare dedisti.'

Ibid. ii. 388-9.

⁵ Cf. Birt, *de fide Christiana*. Eucherius his son was thought to be a pagan.

⁶ There is merely one poem, *de salvatore*, and an allusion to Eutropius' 'pias humilis prostratus ad aras.' *In Eutr.* ii. pref. 27. (Also *In Jacobum* derisory.)

Church are maintained but they are not extended. The bishops maintain their right of hearing sacred causes but gain no additional privileges¹. As Vogt points out², where the Church is vigorously defended, it had suffered much from Arbogast and Gildo. The Manichaeans are treated harshly, but they had recently risen in arms. The temples are protected as works of art³. If we may judge from one passage of Claudian, paganism gained one victory. The altar of Victory had been left in the Roman curia long after the establishment of Christianity, as a symbol of Rome's power. Theodosius had banished it, and the matter was discussed by Pagans and Christians in a controversy which was notable for the unusual good temper of the disputants. The return of Stilicho to Rome during his consulship was marked by the restoration of the goddess, amid great enthusiasm. The poet even ventures to appeal to the Maid, who alone cures wounds and teaches oblivion to hardship, to be propitious to the senate's vows and ever attend Stilicho. Considering the controversy which had recently raged on the subject, it is hard to regard Claudian's language as mere symbolism⁴. If Stilicho

¹ *De episcopis*, x. Kal. Apr. 395, to the vicarius of Africa.

De haereticis, xviii. Kal. Dec. 395.

De episcopis, prid. Kal. Feb. 397.

De Judaeis, Id. Apr. 399.

De paganis, iii. Kal. Sept. 399.

² Vogt, p. 18.

³ *Codex* xvi. 5, 38, 'Nemo Manichaeum, nemo Donatistam, qui praecipue, ut conperimus, furere non desistunt, in memoriam revocet, una sit catholica veneratio, una salus, trinitatis par sibi congruens sanctitas expetatur.' xvi. 10, 15, 'sicut sacrificia prohibemus, ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta servari ac ne sibi aliqua auctoritate blandiantur qui ea conantur evertere, si quod rescriptum, si qua lex forte praetenditur.'

⁴ So Birt infers from *de cons. Stil.* iii. pref. 19, Victory was re-

then did reestablish the altar of Victory, his Christianity was very tepid.

Another respect in which Stilicho appears favourably in the Code, is in the provisions as regards the tyrants. Here he claimed to be only carrying out Theodosius' wishes. In view of the great confusion which would arise from a wholesale annulment of the acts of Maximus and Eugenius, Honorius ordered that their deeds should remain valid, 'nisi circumscriptio subvenit, aut vis aut terror ostenditur¹.' But with typical Roman regard for appearances the names of the usurpers must be erased from the Fasti. So again he says, in a later law to the same effect², 'fas est sequi nos paternae dispositionis arbitrium.' These measures of amnesty were as wise as they were merciful, and did much to secure men's loyalty to Honorius.

Other enactments.

There are then a number of enactments which confirm Claudian's claim for Stilicho. Amongst others of interest are those relating to the curiales³, and the *cursus publicus*, both matters in which good and bad governments alike needed to bestir themselves⁴. The corn supply and the corn ships figure often in the Code⁵, and several enactments in 397 A.D. shew that prepara-

stored January 400 A.D., 'advexit reduces secum Victoria Musas.' Prudentius' poem, *In Symmachum*, was probably inspired by this, and seeks to refute the belief that Rome's greatness was due to the ancient gods.

¹ xv. 14, 9, 'valeat omnis emancipatio tyrannicis facta temporibus...stent denique omnia quae in placitum sunt deducta privatim.'

² xv. 14, 11, 'ad veniam volumus pertinere et beneficia inopinantibus ultro deferimus sancientes ne...notam infamiae sustineant.'

³ xii. 1, 143, 144, 146; xii. 18, 2; xii. 19, 1, 2, and 3.

⁴ viii. 5, 53-65.

⁵ xiv. 15, 4 and 5; xiv. 19, 1 (April 12, 398), fixes the price of bread.

tions against Gildo were afoot¹. An enactment against calumniators shews that Claudian's boast had some foundation. The laws against heretics became subsequently more severe, so that heretics pleaded upon his fall that that annulled his regulations.

The enactments of Stilicho are not very striking. They compare favourably with those issued contemporaneously at Constantinople, and we may fairly believe that his administration was somewhat purer and more efficient than that of Eutropius.

The consulship of Stilicho led to Claudian's visiting Rome after an absence of five years². Stilicho was received with the greatest enthusiasm. He was welcomed in a number of complimentary inscriptions, of which some have survived. The poet himself was similarly rewarded as a testimony to the works ('needless indeed owing to their immortality') of one who combined the art of Virgil with the poetic gifts of Homer³. The consulship was celebrated with the usual games, and Claudian tells us how the goddesses ransacked the glades for animals 'butchered to make a

*Claudian
at Rome.*

¹ 'te mihi post quintos annorum, Roma, recursus reddidit et votis iussit adesse suis.'

de cons. Stil. III. pref. 23-4.

² 'os sacrum, quod in aere colis, miraris in auro, cerne libens, hic est felix bellator ubique, defensor Libyae, Rheni pacator et Histri.'

Ibid. 11-13. Cf. *C. I. L.*

³ *C. I. L.* VI. 1710, 'Claudio Claudiano V. C. tribuno et notario... praegloriosissimo poetarum licet ad memoriam sempiternam carmina ab eodem scripta sufficiant, ad tamen testimonii gratia... imperatores senatu petente statuam in foro Divi Traiani erigi collocarique iusserunt.

ἐν ἐν Βιργιλίῳ νόον καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὁμήρου,
Κλαυδιανὸν Ὀμήρου καὶ βασιλῆς, ἔθεσαν.'

Roman holiday.' Gladly they consented to be taken, and the spectacle was very imposing¹.

For some years Claudian's Muse slumbered. The fifth consulship of Honorius passed unsung, and only the victory over the Goths roused him again².

¹ On the games see Birt, *de fide*, p. 14. There were no gladiatorial combats.

'ultro se voluere capi gaudentque videri

tantae praeda deae.' *de cons. Stil.* III. 342-3.

Symmachus, VII. 14, 'circensium solemnitate consularis magnificentia satisfecit; ludorum adhuc et muneris splendidissimae imminent functiones, quibus ante Februarias Nonas, ut opinamur, inpletis iter ad nostra relegemus.' *Ibid.* 7, 'accessit peregrinationi nostrae largior dies ex comperendinatione ludorum quos pluviarum interventus retardat,' and 8, 'post magnificam ludorum consularium functionem sola adhuc arenae restat editio.'

² 'post resides annos longo velut excita somno

Romanis fruitur nostra Thalia choris.'

de bell. Get. pref. 1.

Birt, *Introd.* p. XLIV, does not believe that the interval of silence was more than a year or eighteen months. His absence in Egypt he contends was short, as *ad Serenam* 57, he prays for a speedy return.

'saltem absens regina fave reditusque secundos

adnue sidereo laeta supercilio.'

His return however might have been delayed.

CHAPTER VII.

Invasion of Alaric 402 A.D.—Honorius besieged at Milan—Relieved by Stilicho—Pollentia 403 A.D.—Accounts of Orosius, Jordan, and Prudentius—Pollentia a drawn battle—Later fighting—Chronology of invasion—Claudian's silence.

FEW things illustrate more powerfully the influence *Alaric's invasion.* of historical perspective than the poem *De Bello Getico*. Alaric's first incursion into Italy was indeed a terrible event and gave rise to the gloomiest prognostications¹.

¹ Paulinus of Nola, in the eighth poem on the birthday of St Felix (which was in spring, v. poems 23 and 21), speaks of rumours of wars and impending troubles :

'sed tamen ista dies licet inter proelia nobis
laetitiae pacisque dies erit, horrida longe
bella premant nostris pax libera mentibus adsit.'

v. 5 sq.

'hunc ego si Geticis agerem male subditus armis
inter et inmites celebrarem laetus Alanos,
et si multiugae premerent mea colla catenae,
captivis animum membris non iungeret armis.'

v. 21 sq.

'nunc igitur quamvis varias vaga fama per oras
terrificis pavidas feriat rumoribus aures.'

v. 29 sq.

The danger does not seem at hand yet. It is a Divine Judgment,

'credite non armis neque viribus esse tremendos
Allophylum populos quos propter crimina nostra
offensi movet ira dei, ut formidine mortis
excitet ad curam vitae torpentia corda.'

v. 70.

He adds :

'humanis opibus sperare salutem
nulla salus.'

But Stilicho did not act upon this principle.

But it was entirely unsuccessful. It invested the Roman empire with a transient halo of military prestige, and led to the warmest eulogies and anticipations of Claudian. But twenty years hence, when another and more successful invasion had taken place, the glory of the first repulse had faded. We find the later writers either entirely neglectful of this first episode in the Gothic attack, or clumsily endeavouring to 'contaminate' the two stories into one. Claudian, 'felix opportunitate mortis,' sang of nothing later than the, as he thought, final overthrow of Alaric, and Honorius' sixth consulship, 404 A.D. Thus it is we have copious accounts of what the sequel proved was but a purposeless and unsuccessful prologue to one of the landmarks of history.

Yet this account is vague enough. The narrative in the *De Bello Getico* which must be supplemented from the panegyric on Honorius' sixth consulship, has all the faults and virtues of the allusive style. The sequence of events is indistinct, the chronology is controverted. The other authorities are of little use, for after the capture of Rome none cared to hear or to investigate the events of a former invasion which time had reduced to triviality. Yet we know that Alaric's approach was viewed by the men of that time with as much anxiety, and regarded as of as much significance as was the later invasion.

*Claudian's
account.*

We proceed then to examine Claudian's account. Alaric had now been established in Illyricum some years. After the events of 396 A.D., at some unknown date, and in some unknown manner, an understanding had been concluded between the Eastern court and the Gothic king. His wishes for some recognition at Rome's hands were met by the bestowal

of a command in Illyricum of a distinctly official type. Our uncertainty is increased by the fact that Illyricum did not wholly belong to either empire. Theodosius had partitioned it between the East and West. Whether this command was independent of Roman officials or not, is another difficult point¹. There are still references in the Code to Anatolius, prefect of Illyricum, and Alaric could hardly have held this post. We may probably conclude, with Keller, that his title was that of dux and had to do with the supervision of the frontier.

Alaric profited by his opportunity. Unhindered by Constantinople, engrossed in its own troubles with Tribigild and Gainas, he contrived to consolidate his power and to make great preparations for a future forward move. He shewed ability unusual in a barbarian, in the drudgery of civil administration and in the unexciting routine of peace². But he was biding his time. He had not moved when Gildo was threatening,

¹ 'saepe quidem frustra monui, servator ut icti
foederis Emathia tutus tellure maneres.'

de bell. Get. 496-7.

'at nunc Illyrici postquam mihi tradita iura
meque suum fecere ducem: tot tela, tot enses,
tot galeas, multo Thracum sudore paravi,
inque meos usus vectigal vertere ferri
oppida legitimo iussu Romana coegi.' *Ibid.* 535 sq.

The words 'iura,' 'dux,' 'vectigal,' 'legitimo iussu' all shew that Alaric held some office under the Romans.

Schulz, p. 14. What office Alaric had 'vix ad liquidum perducipoteroit,' cf. Zosimus, v. 26, Procop. i. 2. Claudian says elsewhere:

'vastator Achivae

gentis et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
praesidet Illyrico.'

In Eutr. ii. 214-16.

It was obviously the highest office. Schulz, p. 14. Pallmann, p. 220, 'historiam de suo fingit.' Alaric agrees with Stilicho that he shall hold Epirus, and the East has to agree. But Claudian then would not dare to reproach Eutropius with having done this.

² Simonis, p. 7, rightly says that Alaric was a man 'der alle Fähigkeiten eines grossen Feldherrn in sich vereinigte, und zugleich

although his attitude alarmed Rome. Some overtures towards peace were perhaps made by him then or later, for we find one of the charges hurled against him was that of offering friendship to either court in turn¹.

*Alaric
advances.*

At length he moved. Again we are in ignorance of the motives which impelled him to this step². The barbarians may have been impatient of their continued sojourn. The Illyrican territory may have been exhausted, for Alaric's administration was directed not to the benefit of his subjects but only to the development of large military resources. Moreover Rome was at that time grappling with troubles in Rhaetia which demanded much of her military strength and a large share of her attention³. Alaric was thought perfidious in attacking at such a time. What, if any, treaty obligations existed between him and the West, we do not know. Such charges of perfidy are the invariable accompaniments of an outbreak of war, and are generally meaningless. The difficulties of the moment were in

die Zeitumstände wohl zu benutzen verstand.' He was in a very favourable position, *ibid.* p. 25.

¹ 'dum foedera fallax
ludit et alternae periuria venditat aulae.'

de bell. Get. 566-7.

² Keller, p. 42. Rosenstein, p. 182, says the East was already flooded by other nations who pushed the Goths on. Gueldenpenning, p. 132, says Alaric could gain nothing more in the East and naturally turned to the West, choosing a time when Stilicho was busily engaged.

³ There was no understanding probably; cf. Ney, sect. 28, 'forte legiones occupatae sunt'; so Keller, *de bell. Get.* 278 sq.:

'perfidia nacti penetrabile tempus
inrupere Getae, nostras dum Raetia vires
occupat atque alio desudant Marte cohortes...
per solitas venere vias, aditusque sequendos
barbarico Romana dedit discordia bello.'

They had accompanied Theodosius. There is no mention of Radagaisus in Claudian, though some couple his name with Alaric's in this invasion. Prof. Bury thinks there was collusion.

any case grave. A whole nation under arms, to whose valour Thrace could well testify, nurtured upon trophies, trained beneath the Northern Bear, a nation which had overrun all Greece, and passed by with ridiculous ease the barriers which had baffled previous invaders, was no light foe¹.

Rhaetia was at that moment the theatre of war, and there were few troops available to stem the tide of invasion. The court fell a prey to pusillanimous panic. Claudian boldly avows it. He will not conceal facts unpleasant in the time of triumph. To glorify his hero he will create afresh the tumult of the time². It was actually suggested that Honorius should leave Italy to the mercy of Alaric and himself take refuge in Sardinia or inhospitable Cyrenus³. The portents appeared in their usual profusion, and Claudian lingers to give a

*Panic at
the court.*

¹ ‘hic validam gentem, quam dura nivosis
educat Ursa plagis...quos Epirus alit.’

de bello Get. 134.

Cf. Ibid. v. 34:

‘quos tantis aluit Bellona tropaeis
totaque sub galeis Mavortia canuit aetas.’

And v. 173 sq.:

‘ex illo quocumque vagos impegit Erinys,
grandinis aut morbi ritu per devia rura,
praecipites per clausa ruunt, nec contigit ullis
amnibus aut scopulis proprias defendere terras...
nubibus intactum Macedo miratur Olympum
more pererratum campi; gemit inrita Tempe
Thessalus et domitis inrisam cautibus Oeten...
ipsae, quae durius olim
restiterant Medis, primo conamine ruptae
Thermopylae.’

² ‘mandemusne Noti flabris quoscumque timores
pertulimus, festae doleant ne tristibus aures?
sic mihi tunc maior Stilicho, cum laeta periclis
metior atque illi redeunt in corda tumultus.’

³ ‘iamiam conscendere puppes
Sardoniosque habitare sinus et inhospita Cygni
saxa parant vitamque freto spumante tueri.’

Ibid. 205-219.

rationalistic explanation of an eclipse of the moon which caused much agitation among the unscientific¹.

*Stilicho
intrepid.*

Stilicho as on other occasions was Rome's champion. By his activity and undaunted resolution he silenced the timorous. He was the only augur of safety, and in Claudian's fine phrase both captain and prophet². He left Honorius, who immured in the fortress of Milan was perfectly safe, to collect an army. The position, if we may judge from his measures, was grave in the extreme. Legions were recalled from Britain, and from the Rhine, which was protected by fear alone, an insufficient rampart in the fifth century³. While these aids were arriving, Stilicho had gone to Noricum, where some tribes had thrown off their allegiance upon hearing of the Roman troubles. He proceeded over Lake Larius and then in the depth of winter passed beyond the lofty mountain barrier which separated Italy from Rhaetia⁴.

¹ Symmachus seems to confirm Claudian in VI. 40, which probably refers to this year.

² 'dux idem vatesque fuit.' *de bello Get.* 269.

³ The consequences were seen in 406 A.D.

Stilicho prevented Honorius from fleeing:

'hic dictis pavidi firmavit inertia vulgi
pectora migrantisque fugam compescuit aulae.'

Ibid. 296-315.

Italy was encouraged,

'ut secum iunxisse pericula vidit

Augustum, tantoque sui stetit obside fati.'

⁴ Stilicho's journey was in the winter, 'nil hiemis caelive memor.'
v. 323. Stilicho reminded the rebels of Rome's history.

'hoc monitu pariter nascentia bella repressit
et bello quaesivit opes, legitque precantes
auxilio mensus numerum qui congruus esset.'

Ibid. 400-403.

Claudian is guilty of a slight inconsistency. In v. 278 sq. he represents Alaric as taking advantage of the Rhaetian rebellion; in v. 363 he says that the rebellion arose after Alaric's entry of Italy.

'iam foedera gentes

exuerant Latique audita clade feroces
Vindelicos saltus et Norica rura tenebant.'

This rebellion was quickly crushed, and so completely that Stilicho gained a considerable number of recruits to support the Italian levies, and these were sent on in advance. The former, from Claudian's admissions, were of a poor quality. Clumsy ploughmen put down the scythe and the hoe, and took up the shield and the javelin amid Bellona's derision¹. The difficulties of the situation were aggravated by the mutinous spirit of the Roman populace, who seem to have found some obscure demagogues to act as their spokesmen. This discontent was caused chiefly by the strain upon the corn supply caused by the rush to Rome². The rural population, especially, no doubt, in the North, fled to the towns, where, penned in like cattle, they saw afar the fiery track of devastation and called upon the elements to help them³.

Stilicho's return from the North was sudden and is dramatically described by Claudian, who may have been under siege with the emperor. The enemy lay between Arcadius and Stilicho, and held the bridge over the Addua. Stilicho, who had pushed on in advance, did

*Relief of
Honorius.*

Cf. v. 380 sq.,

‘tantane vos, inquit, Getici fiducia belli
erigit?’

We may assume, if we care to do so, that the rebellion, originally slight, assumed more serious proportions when the news of Rome's difficulties arrived. Claudian dwells elsewhere on the advantage which the inclement season gave the Goths.

‘tutior auxilio brumae (quo gentibus illis
sidere consueti favet inclementia caeli).’

VI. cons. Hon. 444-5.

¹ ‘non iam dilectus miseri nec falce per agros
deposita iaculum vibrans ignobile messor,’ etc.

de bell. Get. 464 sq.

² ‘humilisque novorum

seditio clamosa ducum.’

v. 466.

‘ipsa quoque internis furiis exercita plebis,’ *v. 50.*

³ *Ibid. v. 44-49.* The walls of Rome were repaired in view of these

not delay. The situation did not admit of that. He thought it tedious to await his allies, and, passing through the midst of the enemy like Diomed, forded the Addua and joined the emperor¹.

Honorius was doubtless grateful. He explains in the poem on his sixth consulship that he was not in any degree frightened by the enemy, who had besieged him with the object of intimidating him into an unfavourable peace². Various opinions as to the place where this

dangers, *C. I. L.* vi. 1188–1190. 1188 records the 'instauratos muros ex suggestione V.C. et inlustris comitis et magistri utriusque militiae Stilichonis.'

The first object of the Gothic attack seems to have been Aquileia.

'temeratae sumite tandem
Italiae poenas, obsessi principis armis
excusate nefas deploratumque Timavo
vulnus et Alpinum gladiis abolete pudorem.'

de bell. Get. 560 sq.

The 'wound of Timavus' can only refer to something that happened near Aquileia. It is hardly likely, however, that so strong a place was captured. The 'Alpine shame' is presumably the indignity inflicted upon the Alps by Alaric's passage of them. That there was a siege we may infer from a reproach addressed to Rufinus by Jerome for preferring to be besieged by barbarians than to come to Rome.

Symmachus preserves us three letters written in the critical period of Stilicho's absence. Characteristically they reveal little. There was panic at Rome, but he is chiefly concerned with the length of his journey: 'iter meum famae varietas retardavit, nam dum exploro tuta, et longitudinem viae dierum interpositione distinguo, tandem sextum Kalendas Martias Mediolanum per Ticini longinqua perveni. nunc laborem meum domini et principis nostri blandus sermo solatus est. spero etiam legationem brevi in notitiam divini principis perferendam; si quidem vir cuncta praecepsus, cui primas partes causae publicae noster ordo mandavit mox cum praesidiis validissimis, adfore nuntiatur.' vii. 13. So vii. 14, 'in praesentiam viri cuncta praecepsi comitis agenda produco, quem mox deo iuvante adfore nuntiorum confirmat adsertio.' v. 95 was written at the same time. These letters confirm the view that Milan was besieged, and suggest that Symmachus was at Milan perhaps even when Stilicho arrived. Pollentia happened in less than a month. Symmachus approached from the East, Stilicho from the West; this shews that the investment was not complete. In v. 96 Stilicho has returned.

¹ *De VI. cons. Hon.* 'nox erat,' etc., v. 453–469.

² *De VI. cons. Hon.* 440–452, the union of Stilicho and Honorius is twice described, but a close examination shews considerable discre-

siege took place have been held: Milan, Ravenna and Asta have been each supported by different critics¹. The news was swiftly carried to Rome and reached there the same day, none knew how. The joy of the emperor

pancies on which the critics have not, to my knowledge, commented. In the poem *De Bello Getico*, a cloud of dust is observed (by no possibility at Rome although that city has just been mentioned, v. 450), and at length Stilicho's familiar face is described. A crowd pours out of the gate to meet him. This is obviously by day. But in *de VI. cons. Hon.* it was night ('nox erat,' v. 453) when Stilicho approached from the North. The enemy held the bridge over the Addua, which was difficult to cross in that region. However Stilicho crossed, Claudian suggests swimming over, not by the bridge: 'celer Addua nostro sulcatus socero.' It is possible to assume that the two events were separated by a few hours. The Addua was crossed at night, Stilicho was still some distance from Milan. The Addua passed, his difficulties were well-nigh over, he pushed on to Milan, and arrived there some time during the next day.

¹ Schulz, p. 17, supports Asta. Rosenstein, p. 196, opposes this and supports Milan. Keller rightly denies that Claudian says the Po was passed. If Honorius was besieged at Asta, Alaric would have held the passage of the Addua, p. 45. So Ney, 34. Keller therefore supports Milan and quotes *de bell. Get.* 561-2, 'deploratumque Timavo' and *de VI. cons. Hon.* 204. Gibbon supports Asta, but Professor Bury is decidedly in favour of Milan, which was certainly the scene of the siege. The discrepancies in Claudian's two accounts have been commented on and make the matter somewhat difficult. Ravenna is out of the question, but in *de bell. Get.* Pollentia takes place immediately after the relief, and in *de VI. cons. Hon.* 443 we are told that Alaric had approached the walls of the Ligurians. We can therefore understand some supporting the claims of Asta, which is in Liguria, not far from Pollentia, and which was the scene of a Roman victory ('moenia vindicis Hastae'). But Claudian's use of the term 'Liguria' is surprisingly lax. When Rome reproaches Honorius for his absence (*VI. cons. Hon.* 361 sq.) she chides him for preferring the Ligurian (Milan) and the Rubicon (Ravenna), and in *de IV. cons. Hon.* 567, he speaks of processions amongst the Ligurians, referring probably to Milan again. Claudian omitted, for artistic considerations, the operations intervening between the raising of the siege and the battle at Pollentia. Moreover, in the same passage as that in which he speaks of Liguria he mentions the Addua. Milan therefore must be preferred. Gueldenpeunng, p. 135, thinks Honorius after his relief went to Asti to be near the Alpine passes. Hodgkin, p. 711, accepts Ravenna. Simonis, p. 31, accepts Milan.

and of the court knew no bounds when the familiar face appeared¹.

*A Gothic
council.*

The Goths suffered a corresponding diminution of spirits. At the sight of this new army Rome fades away in the distance². An old warrior voices the general discontent, and warns Alaric to retire while he is safe. What have they to do with Etruria or Rome (whatever that may be)? The veteran, however, has a very creditable knowledge of the vicissitudes of that city, which has always injured those who besieged it. If he despises Olympus, let him at any rate fear Stilicho and remember Greece³.

These words are received with an outburst of wrath. Alaric vows that he will conquer or die in Italy, a vow which was to be fulfilled. He dwells upon a prediction that he will reach the city, and after threatening the old warrior prepares for battle.

This again is one of Claudian's licences⁴. No Goth would have urged his leader to draw back. The

¹ 'ipso Roma die (nec adhuc ostenditur auctor)
personuit venisse ducem...quis gaudia vero
principis, amplexus alacris quis disserat aulae?'

de bell. Get. 450-4.

² 'prospera sed quantum nostrae spes addita menti,
tantum exempta Getis...magni subeunt iam taedia coepti.'

Ibid. 469-478.

³ 'quid mihi nescioquam proprio cum Thybride Romam
semper in ore geris?'... 'hanc urbem nullus
laetatus violasse redit...si temnis Olympum,
a magno Stilichone cave.'

Ibid. 487-517.

⁴ This is too strong. A fragment of Eunapius (Müller, iv. 60) shews that there had been of old a philo-Roman party, which had caused strife under Theodosius, 'οὔτοι στάσιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις οὐ μικρὰν ἡγείραν οἱ μὲν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν παρούσαν εὐδαιμονίαν κελεύοντες, οἱ δὲ τὸν οἶκον γεγονότα φυλάττειν ὄρκον αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἐκείνας τὰς συνθήκας.'

A remnant of this party might have lingered on and made itself now heard. The incident, though on the whole improbable, is not impossible.

speeches are certainly inauthentic, and the close resemblance between Alaric and Turnus stamps this episode as fiction. But the allusion to the oracle¹ is one fragment of fact. This oracle Claudian scornfully declares was fulfilled when Alaric reached the river Urbs in Liguria. But the prediction was destined to be accomplished some years later. The incident is valuable, as shewing that Rome had long exercised an attraction upon Alaric, and that the expedition had long been meditated.

Stilicho replies with an address to his soldiers, urging them to wipe out the stain of the emperor's investment, the wound deplored by Timavus. All the world is on the watch towers, quivering in expectation of the event. They are fighting for their country now².

Alaric had retreated before Stilicho in a south-west *Pollentia*. direction and must have crossed the Po at some place. Of all this we hear nothing. Some engagement took place under the walls of Asti where Stilicho gained some success and the Goths then retreated still further south to Pollentia, where the battle which ultimately decided the campaign was fought. The attack was entrusted to an Alan chief of great courage and short stature³. He had been suspected of treachery, but his

¹ 'rumpe omnes, Alarice, moras; hoc impiger anno
Alpibus Italiae ruptis penetrabis ad urbem.'

de bell. Get. 546-7.

² 'credite nunc omnes, quas dira Britannia gentes,
quas Hister, quas Rhenus alit, pendere paratas
in speculis.'

'visceribus mediis ipsoque in corde videtis,
bella geri. patrem clipeis defendite Thybrim.'

Ibid. 560-578.

³ 'ibat patiens dicionis Alanus,...
cui natura breves animis ingentibus artus
finxerat inmanique oculos infecerat ira.'

Ibid. 581-5.

bravery and heroic death wiped out this stain. The poet pauses to praise a barbarian in unwonted strains. Happy he, worthy both of Elysium and the tribute of poesy, who by arbitrament of the sword cleared himself of the undeserved charge¹! His death caused the cavalry to waver, and Stilicho was forced to come to the rescue with his infantry. The Roman 'sword drank deeply in the blood of Scythia².' The Goths endeavoured to diminish the intensity of the pursuit by strewing rich booty in the way, but in vain. Many captives were released and restored to their homes. Alaric, bereft of much of his spoils, raged furiously. The poet concludes his account of the battle by apostrophising Pollentia, fateful spot to the Goths, memorable tomb of barbarians. On the same plains had Cimbrian and Goth taught the same lesson. Learn, ye crazed nations, not to despise Rome³.

Deficiencies in the account.

If we consider this account alone, we are struck by its vagueness. Sixty lines suffice to describe all that happened after the speeches of the rival generals. The prowess of the Alan captain, the vehemence of the pursuit, and a brilliant peroration—such is all we have. There are few details, no battle-scenes. After

¹ 'felix Elysiisque plagis et carmine dignus,
qui male suspectam nobis inpensius arsit
vel leto purgare fidem.' *de bell. Get.* 590-2.

Yet Prudentius (*in Symmachum*, II. 815) could say in that age :
'sed tantum distant Romana et barbara quantum
quadripes abiuncta est bipedi vel muta loquenti.'

² 'totaque praeciso nutassent agmina cornu,
ni celer instructa Stilicho legione secutus
subsidiis peditum pugnam instaurasset equestrem.'

Ibid. 595-7.

³ 'hic Cimbros fortesque Getas Stilichone peremptos
et Mario claris ducibus, tegit Italia tellus.
discite vesanae Romam non temnere gentes.'

Ibid. 645-7.

a highly-wrought prelude comes a scanty epitome and then a brief conclusion.

Perhaps, however, these few lines may tell us more than several hundred. The omissions have their own significance. Pollentia to Claudian was a great victory but not so to other writers. Orosius casually mentions it in a tirade against Stilicho, implying that it was a Roman defeat. He is offended chiefly at the battle taking place on Easter-Day, when even the Goths were unprepared for battle¹. The leadership was entrusted to a pagan named Saul, who would have less scruples in fighting on such a day, with unfortunate results. Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, agrees as to the last point. He states that the Goths had previously besieged Ravenna, and asked Honorius either to allow them to settle in Italy and become one people with the Romans or else to decide the issue by battle. Honorius, dreading either alternative, gave them Spain and they prepared to leave Italy, carefully abstaining from doing any damage. Unexpectedly they are attacked by Stilicho near Pollentia in the Cottian Alps. The Goths at first are panic-stricken, but they rally, drive the Romans² back, and slay them almost to a man³.

*Orosius’
and
Jordanes’
account.*

¹ Claudian suggests that the winter was still running its course ; ‘tricesima currit bruma fere,’ *de bell. Get.* 488.

² Orosius, vii. 37, ‘taceo de infelicibus illis apud Pollentiam gestis, cum barbaro et pagano duci, hoc est Sauli, belli summa commissa est, cuius improbitate reverentissimi dies et sanctum pascha violatum est cedentique hosti propter religionem, ut pugnaret, extortum est cum quidem...pugnantes vicimus, victores victi sumus.’

³ Jordanes, *Getica*, 152-156, ‘post quorum discessu nec quicquam mali in Italia perpetrato Stilicho patricius et socer Honorii imperatoris...ad Polentiam civitatem in Alpes Cottiarum locatam dolose accedens nihilque male suspicantibus Gothis ad necem totius Italiae

This account is practically valueless. The treaty ceding Spain was drawn up in a later expedition, when Rome was captured, an event which Jordanes proceeds to relate. But it shews that the Goths rightly or wrongly denied their defeat, and perhaps proves that the battle was unexpected. The statement that the whole Roman army was destroyed is ridiculous. The Romans allowed court poets some exaggeration, but not even Claudian would dare to write a poem shortly after a *débâcle* claiming a complete victory. The chroniclers are divided. Cassiodorus says that Stilicho was victorious, Prosper that both sides had heavy losses. Another also says that night put an end to the conflict.

Prudentius.

Christian apologetics had already learnt versatility. Prudentius on the morrow of the Easter battle has none of the misgivings which troubled Orosius some years later. His chief concern is that none of the credit of the victory shall redound to Paganism or Pagan influence. To prove this, with curious irony he denies the intervention of the gods, but, a rationalist through circumstances, declares it was brute strength, and stout hearts that feared not death in the cause of country, which prevailed over Alaric¹. When the barbarian came from Ister, who had sworn to level Rome with the ground, and had ravaged Po's plains,

suamque deformitatem ruit in bello. Gothi...primum perterriti sunt, sed mox exercitum...ad internicionem deiciunt.'

So the *Historia Miscella*: 'cum ob recuperationem iumentorum apud Pollentiam resedisset, Stilicho patricius in perniciem rei publicae Gothos pertentans, dum eos insidiis aggredi cuperet, belli summam Sauli pagano duci commisit.'

¹ 'sed vis cruda virum perfractaque congrediventum pectora nec trepidans animus succumbere leto pro patria et pulchram per vulnera quaerere laudem.'

In Symm. ii. 704 sq.

and Tuscany¹, it was our emperor and his associate Stilicho that saved us². Both worshipped Christ, and great was the victory. Great should be the triumph; we have conquered, pleasing 'tis to exult. (When happened the like in ancient story³?)

Prudentius' poem shews at least this, that Pollentia was sufficiently creditable for either of the two religious parties to claim it as their own. The pagans spoke no doubt of Saul and of the Sibylline books, and of Victory's benign influence: the others loaded Stilicho with compliments, embarrassing doubtless even to that tactful statesman, and ignored Saul's sacrilege. The poem seems to have been written soon after, and before any triumph was celebrated. There is no mention of Verona or any other passages of the war, but the manner in which the poet speaks of the danger as completely past, suggests that that engagement has taken place. Critics have with justice seen in this poem a bid for imperial favour, made by the Christians, and a trial of strength in some degree between the respective

¹ ‘Geticus nuper delere tyrannus
Italiam patrio veniens iuratus ab Istro
has arces aequare solo, tecta aurea flammis
solvere...
iamque ruens Venetos turmis protriverat agros
et Ligurum vastarat opes et amoena profunda
rura Padi, Tuscumque solum victo amne premebat.’

In Symm. II. 701 sq.

From Claudian's account Alaric can scarcely have penetrated into Etruria. This seems more probable.

² ‘dux agminis imperii que
Christipotens nobis iuvenis fuit, et comes eius
atque parens Stilicho, deus unus Christus utrique.
huius adoratis altaribus et cruce fronti
inscripta cecinere tubae.’

Ibid. 708 sq.

³ ‘quid tale repulso
Poenorum quondam duce contigit?’

Ibid. 738.

champions of Paganism and Christianity, Symmachus and Claudian¹.

Reconciliation of the accounts.

It is tolerably easy to reconcile the different accounts. It is universally admitted that the first part of the battle was unfavourable to the Romans. Stilicho desired, it seems, that the barbarian troops should bear the brunt of the engagement. Saul's defeat was no doubt accompanied by considerable carnage, for his troops had the usual barbarian courage. The day was retrieved by Stilicho, who made the Roman position absolutely secure and perhaps adopted the same defensive attitude towards Alaric that the latter had adopted to him in Greece².

Pollentia a drawn battle.

Pollentia was then merely a Gothic check, but this does not seriously diminish its importance. Such checks have often proved, as history shews, of great importance³. Alaric's further progress was made difficult, and central and southern Italy were spared the horrors of an invasion. Alaric did indeed attempt to march further into Italy, to which Stilicho, being to the north, could not bar his way. But his progress after heavy slaughter and the consequent demoralisation was difficult, and though the commencement of the Apennines was reached, Stilicho, who had taken

¹ There are echoes of Claudian in this poem as Birt points out: 'catholicam Musam ad aemulationem ambitiosam et ad blandimenta similia illis esse concitatum' (sc. conicere possumus). Birt, *Introduction*, p. LVII.

² The Romans undoubtedly took some prisoners, cf. *de bell. Get.* 84: 'sua pignora vidit coniugibus permixta trahi.'

This no doubt made Alaric more inclined to negotiate. Cf. Prudentius on some Romans retaken from the Goths:

'date vincula demam
captivis gregibus. manicas deposite longo
tritas servitio.'

In Sym. 731 sq.

³ Cf. Marathon.

prisoners many of the Gothic women, was able to induce him to retire beyond the Po¹. This was in itself a meritorious achievement. Claudian's reserve strongly favours this view. Of the course of the battle he says little, because in the major part of it the barbarians only were engaged. Stilicho and his troops had possibly little actual fighting, at any rate they performed no brilliant achievements. We hear much of Stilicho's organising powers in time of panic, but little or rather nothing of his exploits in the field. Neither side inflicted a decisive defeat upon the other. But Alaric must either advance or retreat. His advance was a forlorn hope: he wavered and turned northward, a step which naturally led to much confusion. We need not take too literally the story of the Romans' fury and the great havoc they wrought. The retreat of any barbarian horde would be difficult and somewhat dangerous, but the poet, in a fit of forgetfulness, confesses later that it was not Pollentia which crushed the Goths².

1

'sed pignora nobis

Romanus carasque nurus praedamque tenebat.
fatalis semper Stilicho! dum parcere fingit
rettulit hostiles animos bellumque remenso
evaluit transferre Pado....tunc vis extincta Getarum,
tunc mihi, tunc letum pepigi. violentior armis
omnibus expugnat nostram clementia gentem.'

VI. cons. Hon. 297 sq.

This exaggerated attitude shews that Stilicho's 'clemency' needed justification.

2

'non me Pollentia tantum

nec captae cruciastis opes...

stipatus adhuc equitumque catervis
integer ad montes reliquo cum robore cessi,
quos Apenninum perhibent.'

VI. cons. Hon. 297 sq.

Probably the slaughter was heavy, but it was not confined to one side. The Roman organisation, with Milan as a base, could sooner repair losses.

For the difficulties of the retreat, cf. *ibid.* 142:

'et quae venientibus ante
prona fuit, iam difficilis, iam dura reversis.'

The *De Bello Getico* ends with the already quoted line 'Discite vesanae Romam non temnere gentes.' The title is somewhat of a misnomer. The invaders were yet in Italy and some important operations had to be conducted before they finally withdrew. Of this post-Pollentine campaign we have some account in the poem on Honorius' sixth consulship, 404 A.D.

After
Pollentia.

By chance, father Eridanus, meditating on the destiny of Rome, is informed by a nymph that Alaric is returning in altered guise¹. The river-god reproaches the Goth for his designs upon Rome, expatiates on the deserved vengeance of Heaven, and summons his tributaries to celebrate the return of peace. This leads the poet to celebrate the fame of Verona, which has given no slight culmination to the triumph over the Goths. Not greater was the merit of Pollentia nor of the walls of avenging Hasta.

As we have said, some agreement seems to have been made after the battle of Pollentia. A definite pact or an informal understanding was concluded which secured Alaric a safe retreat and pledged him to retire without ravaging the country². Alaric is charged

¹ 'en Alaricus,' ait, 'non qualem nuper ovantem vidimus; exangues, genitor, mirabere vultus. percensere manum tantaque ex gente iuvabit reliquias numerasse breves.' *VI. cons. Hon.* 154-7.

² Claudian defends Stilicho for doing this, on expediency chiefly. Was he 'inspired'?

'si positis pendas odiis, ignoscere pulchrum iam misero poenaeque genus vidisse precantem... consulitur dum, Roma, tibi. tua cura coegit inclusis aperire fugam, ne peior in arto saeviret rabies venturae conscia mortis; nec tanti nomen stirpemque abolere Getarum ut propius peterere fuit.' *de bell. Get.* 91-100.

The Goths must still have been formidable. Cf. too *de VI. cons. Hon.* 128:

'concessaque tibi, rerum sic admonet usus, luce.'

again and again with treachery. The reiteration of the charge is so persistent that we are induced to consider it not altogether baseless. To a commander of Stilicho's temperament, such an object as the securing of Alaric's retreat without further danger to Italy would have seemed highly desirable, it may even have been the soundest tactics. But Alaric once across the Po, his anxiety was much diminished, and he cunningly took advantage of some infraction of the agreement to engage¹. Alaric is made to bewail his folly in concluding a treaty, and in accepting the treacherous clemency of Stilicho. The *morale* of the Gothic army was not improved by the retreat, and Alaric, in a desperate plight, attacked again but to no purpose. Of the engagement itself we are only told in passing that Alaric gave the vultures a rich feast and that his madness profited him nothing². Again Stilicho availed himself largely of barbarian allies, and turned against itself barbarism that fought on either side. But the rashness of an unwary Alan chief spoiled clever combinations which would have led to Alaric's capture. As it was he only escaped by furious riding. Claudian comforts himself with the reflection that Alaric is

¹ 'oblatum Stilicho violato foedere Martem
omnibus adripuit votis, ubi Roma periclo
iam procul et bellis medio Padus arbiter ibat.'

VI. cons. Hon. 210 sq.

The battle was in the summer, a few months probably after Pollentia:

'sustinet accensos aestivo pulvere soles.' *Ibid.* 215.

His operations seem to have been rather elaborate and lengthy, but Alaric was outgeneralled at last.

² Verona seems to have been Stilicho's 'crowning mercy':

'tu quoque non parvum Getico, Verona, triumpho
adiungis cumulum, nec plus Pollentia rebus
contulit Ausoniis aut moenia vindicis Hastae.'

Ibid. 201-3.

Rome's living trophy, a consolation of which he often avails himself.

*Alaric's
plight.*

Alaric, still undaunted, attempts to secure a retreat to Gaul or Rhaetia, but his plans are divined by Stilicho, who takes every measure to thwart him, though the foe could never penetrate his designs. Baffled, he is hemmed in on all sides, and left with only a single hill to call his own. He suffers grievously from lack of food, and famine results from this, and from the season of the year². But in spite of his precarious condition, the spirit of his troops would not permit him to risk an engagement. Desertions from his ranks were numerous, whole divisions and squadrons went over to Stilicho³. His hold upon his army was lost. He burst into a lamentation over that region fateful to the Goths and Stilicho's treacherous clemency⁴. So he fled, his steps dogged by Stilicho, accompanied by a retinue of Famine, Grief and Disease. Such is the passing of Alaric.

Here too our account of Alaric's campaign must end. How Alaric escaped from Italy, and in what manner he passed the following years, are matters concerning which there is a serious hiatus in our infor-

¹ *De VI. cons. Hon.* 220-8.

² *Ibid.* 229-239.

³ 'iamque frequens rarum decerpere transfuga robur
coeperat inque dies numerus decrescere castris,
nec iam deditio parvis occulta parari,
sed cunei totaeque palam discedere turmae.'

Ibid. 250-3.

Cf. de bell. Get. 88 :

'desertus ab omni
gente sua manibusque redivit truncatus et armis.'

⁴ Schulz thinks that Alaric made straight for Rome at first, p. 20. *Cf. Jordanes*, 300; *Hist. Misc.* xiii. p. 91. Prudentius, *contra Symm.* ii. 668, 'Roma eum appropinquasse dicit.' But Claudian shews he got no further than the head of the Apennines.

mation¹. Once again Stilicho had performed his favourite manœuvre upon Alaric, who must have writhed at his inferiority as a general, and enclosed him on a single hill, and once again he indulged his penchant for moral victories. We cannot fail to connect this repeated clemency of Stilicho with some ulterior design upon the East. Stilicho no doubt after these defeats thought Alaric would become his obedient servant and the most useful of instruments. Such indeed seems to have been the actual result, and when Alaric came to Italy again, he came, as he said, to avenge Stilicho. Of this first invasion Claudian alone gives us any extensive account, for to later writers it necessarily seemed unimportant. And Claudian himself gives us no clear sequence of events. We learn as much from his allusive references as from his explicit statements.

Thus the chronology of the invasion has been *Date*. variously treated. Clinton assigns it to the years 402–403 A.D., Rosenstein and Pallmann spread it over 400–402 A.D., Keller assigns it to 401 A.D. Some writers again, as Gibbon and Tillemont, assumed that there were two invasions². The indications which we have are very slight. The chronicles disagree, and in some cases contradict Claudian. The *Fasti Vindobonenses* state that Alaric entered Italy on November 20, 401 A.D.; another chronicler says on August 22, 401 A.D. The latter states that he remained in Italy two years. Prosper Tiro assigns the date of Pollentia to 402 A.D., while

¹ He was soon after in Illyria. Schulz, p. 20.

² Tillemont, too, think the paneg. *de VI. cons. Hon.* describes two different invasions, vv. 440–470, the siege of Honorius, refer to the former, 127–330 to another.

Cassiodorus states that Alaric (and Radagaisus) entered Italy in 400 A.D., and that Pollentia took place in 401 A.D. If we can derive any tolerably certain indication from Claudian, he, as a contemporary, will be by far the safest guide¹.

*Claudian's
evidence.*

Claudian directly asserts that Rome's troubles lasted no longer than a single winter². This implies that Alaric entered Italy at the end of one year and that Pollentia took place early in the next. This is confirmed by Orosius' diatribe on Stilicho for fighting on Easter Sunday. Alaric's retreat and subsequent engagements were prolonged into the summer, as Claudian says. The storm-cloud had burst and all was now secure. Thus his statement does not materially differ from the assertion that Italy was ravaged for two years, for the Gothic army was certainly in Italy during some part of two successive years.

Thus far all is clear, but the greater difficulty of fixing upon these years remains, as, for all that Claudian plainly says, either 400–401 A.D., 401–402 A.D., or 402–403 A.D. would be suitable. We conclude that the *De Bello Getico* was written speedily after Pollentia. Claudian justifies Stilicho's clemency to the Goths, but does not mention any further engagements. It is full of the jubilation of victory, it celebrates Pollentia

¹ This must be our guiding principle. I desire to associate myself entirely with Seeck's remarks regarding what Pallmann calls Claudian's 'verhältnissmässige Werthlosigkeit,' that in chronology not only is he an authority of the first rank, which Pallmann contests, but that no other should be preferred to him.

² Very emphatically *de Bell. Get.* 151 :

'hic celer effecit, bruma ne longior una
esset hiems rerum, primis sed mensibus aestas
temperiem caelo pariter belloque referret.'

not the whole war¹. The poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius, written, we may assume, for January 1, 404 A.D., states that Claudian had previously and recently sung of the Gothic war². The poem previous to the *De Bello Getico* had been written for Stilicho's consulship, 400 A.D., in which there is not a cloud on the horizon.

But if the poem was written recently, it is natural to assume that the battle of Pollentia took place in 403 A.D., at Eastertide, and that the original entry was in the autumn or winter of 402 A.D. Claudian is so emphatic that the war was only of one year's duration, that one cannot believe the statement to be glaringly false, and one which every auditor could correct. He says too in the preface that he had long been idle³. An interval of three years would accord well with this. In the interval he had perhaps gone to Alexandria and prosecuted his suit with a wealthy lady, an incident of which we hear in the Epistle to Serena⁴.

Again it is highly probable that Honorius decided to hold the consulship in the year after Pollentia in order duly to celebrate the importance of that engagement.

¹ The title *de Bello Pollentino* though incorrect according to the MSS, cf. Birt, pp. CVIII and CCII, and Koch, *Claudian*, p. XLIV, appropriately sums up the poem.

² *de VI. cons. Hon.* 124-5.

³ 'post resides annos.'

⁴ He was aided by a letter from Serena, though enactments in the *Codex* forbade such letters.

'non ego cum peterem sollemni more procorum

promisi gregibus pascua plena meis...

sufficit mandasse deam; tua littera nobis

et pecus et segetes et domus ampla fuit.' 37-44.

Claudian writes from beyond the sea to Serena, to announce the success of his suit and his approaching marriage, and prays for a safe voyage. Serena, Stilicho's wife, is regarded as a goddess! Perhaps Stilicho wished to assert his equality with the Emperor in this way. Serena's power is shewn still more in Stilicho's later years.

It is remarkable that his fifth consulship, 402, was not celebrated by Claudian. This was in all probability due to the poet's absence in Egypt, although those who put the Gothic invasion earlier would doubtless assert that the panic and confusion of the siege put panegyrical odes quite out of question¹.

It may be safely concluded that the poem *De VI. cons. Hon.* was written after Honorius' triumphal entry into Rome, and the battle of Verona may be assigned to the summer of 403 A.D. Those therefore who put Pollentia in the preceding year are driven to assume that Alaric spent the intervening year in Italy, and that there is an interval of nineteen months between Claudian's two poems. Now it was certainly not to Stilicho's interest that the north of Italy should remain for a whole year subject to a barbarian's rule, and it may, we think, be legitimately assumed that he had also tactical ability sufficient to rid himself of Alaric's presence. He had the Gothic women as hostages, he had the Roman organisation, and he had a base. Add to this a keen desire to expel Alaric, and we can scarcely conceive that Alaric passed another year untroubled and at his ease. Both Claudian and Prudentius' poems assume that Pollentia has decided the issue of the war. Alaric was not a Fabius, but was opposed to a general of great ability when he chose.

¹ Ney puts Pollentia in 403 A.D.; also Volz, Gibbon and Tillemont. Koeppé and Pallmann assign it to 402 A.D., believing Prosper's entry trustworthy. Volz's tract on the date degenerates into an unseemly wrangle between him and Pallmann. Some of his arguments occurred independently to me before I had seen his work. Some assert that as there are edicts against deserters in 403 A.D., this proves that the war was over. But it was more necessary to repress desertion before than after the conclusion of the war. Most modern writers accept 402 A.D. as the date, putting Verona in 403 A.D.

Nor do the circumstances under which Claudian's two poems were written seem widely different. The former, he says, was written lately ('nuper'), before the other. The second supplements the former in a few matters, and was written chiefly through a desire to associate Honorius as well as Stilicho with the glory of this victory¹. And this victory was Pollentia. But for Claudian we should never have heard of Verona, the later writers to whom Pollentia is known as a battle of importance ignore Verona, which only gave Alaric his final discomfiture. In both similar topics are treated alike. In the later poem Rome has not yet recovered from the shock of Alaric's first arrival, which she could have done in nineteen months; her walls are still brand new². In both Stilicho's clemency is justified by expediency, in both Alaric is in a critical condition and suffering from desertions, and leaving Italy thrust forth by Stilicho, and Eridanus is avenging many a river³. The *prima facie* improbability of Stilicho permitting Alaric to remain in Italy, seeing that he

¹ 'arma Getarum
nuper apud socerum plectro celebrata recenti.
adventus nunc sacra tui libet edere Musis
grataque patrat's exordia sumere bellis.'
VI. cons. Hon. 122 sq.

² 'addebant pulchrum nova moenia vultum
audito perfecta recens rumore Getarum.'
Ibid. 532.

The story of Honorius' deliverance, 440-490, is not yet stale.

³ 'concessaque sibi (rerum sic admonet usus) luce.' de VI. cons. Hon. 128. (This retreat seems to follow immediately after Pollentia.)

'hoc quoque, quod veniam leti valere mereri,
si positis pendas odiis, ignoscere pulchrum
iam misero poenaeque genus vidisse precantem...
consulitur dum, Roma, tibi.'

de bell. Get. 90 sq.

Cf. also 'Italia detrusus eat.' Ibid. 79 and de VI. cons. Hon. 311 sq. Ibid. 250 and de bell. Get. 89. Eridanus exults; de VI. cons. Hon. 180 and de bell. Get. 196, 'victor Eridanus vindicat,' a present tense between two perfects.

exhibited throughout a decisive superiority in initiative and tactical skill, and the similarity of the two poems in the above-mentioned particulars, lead one to doubt the accepted date (402 A.D.).

At any rate the reasons usually urged for that date are unconvincing. It is true that from September 401 to December 401 there are no enactments in the Code of the Western court, but neither are there for the Eastern court, in the case of which it is readily assumed that enactments have been lost. Such an accident might occur as easily to the enactments of both courts as to those of one, and the enactments of 403 A.D. are also very scanty. The enactments against deserters in the year 403 A.D.¹ would be more necessary if the war was then proceeding, than if it were ended. The most impressive argument is perhaps that with reference to the eclipses, for it is the hardest to refute². It seems unsafe to trust to that alone however. Claudian speaks of a succession of eclipses, not of a single total eclipse³. Nor does the poem of Paulinus of Nola help us to date the war. No view can solve all the difficulties, but a close adherence to Claudian seems to suggest 403 A.D. as the most likely date⁴.

¹ VIII. Kal. Aug., VI. Non. Oct. But probably in either case the war was ended.

² According to Seeck, *Forschungen* xxiv. p. 182. There were eclipses Dec. 27, 400 A.D., 21 Jan. and 6 Dec. 401, and June 1, 402 A.D.

³ *De bell. Get.* 233.

⁴ The evidence of the Chronicles is contradictory. Cassiodorus puts the date of the entry in 401, and the battle of Pollentia in 402 A.D. He also says that Rhadagaisus accompanied Alaric, a statement which even the critics who accept his chronology cannot admit. Prosper assigns Pollentia to 402, so *Fasti Vindobonenses*. But in such a matter the statements of the chronologers can lightly be set aside. If they do not even know which side won, their testimony as regards the less important matter of the date is not of much significance.

The panegyric on the sixth consulship is, as far as *Honorius at Rome*. we can date Claudian's poems, his last¹. Honorius now left Ravenna to celebrate at Rome the return of Fortune. In a hundred years Rome had only seen an emperor three times². Though Honorius had often been urged to visit the city, in spite of that devotion to the West which Claudian insinuates, the emperor had shut himself up in the more Northern fortress. Now Rome arrays herself in all her beauty, which is portrayed in vivid language, to welcome her long-desired emperor³ and Stilicho, who rode into Rome in the same chariot. This must have been shortly before Honorius entered on his sixth consulship. Games were celebrated with great pomp⁴. The senators were not made to walk before the chariot; only Eucherius, Stilicho's son, and the princess did this. It is difficult to decide what Stilicho's designs were, but he may have wished to make his son well-known to the Roman people as a presumptive heir to Honorius. Victory sees the fruition of her vows seated in her shrine, and promises ever to abide with Rome.

Stilicho's second consulship (405 A.D.) was not to be celebrated by Claudian. Three explanations can be given. Claudian either died, or fell into disgrace, or retired to his native land. None of these explanations *Claudian becomes silent.*

¹ Birt thinks *Carm. Min.* 30 and 53, two private poems, were written early in 404 A.D.

² 'his annis, qui lustra mihi bis dena recensent,
nostra ter Augustos intra pomeria vidi,
temporibus variis.'

VI. cons. Hon. 392-4.

³ 'agnoscisne tuos, princeps venerande, penates?'

v. 53, *Ibid.* v. 523-577.

⁴ Tillemont thinks gladiatorial combats were now abolished, v. 537. Birt, *de fide Christ.*, thinks steps had been taken before.

can be confirmed by actual evidence. The poet had previously been silent for some time, and this prevents us from necessarily inferring his death, though this supposition is as plausible as any. If he survived until 408 A.D., and remained attached to Stilicho, he doubtless shared that ruin in which all the dependents of Stilicho were involved¹. From this time at any rate history knows no more of him, and he contributes nothing more to history.

¹ Zosimus, v. 35, 'πανταχόθεν δὲ τῶν Στελιχώνος οικείων ἢ ἄλλως τὰ τούτου φρονεῖν δοκούντων ἐρευνωμένων, εἰς κρίσιν ἤγοντο Δευτέριος, κ.τ.λ.'

CHAPTER VIII.

Claudian's contribution to History—His Roman bias—Inevitable inaccuracy—Exaggeration—A great historical artist—His view of Stilicho—Freedom of treatment.

THE period which we have been considering is in no wise a rounded whole. Such unity as the Age of Claudian possesses, it derives from the fact that Claudian flourished then, and in his occasional poems celebrated contemporary history. If Claudian had continued to sound the praises of Stilicho until his death, 408 A.D., the years 395–408 A.D. could certainly claim to be a definite epoch, for it was then that the spirit of Stilicho dominated the policy of the Western Empire, and from time to time exercised a strong influence on the affairs of the East. As it is, Claudian's help fails us at that moment at which Stilicho reached his brief zenith. The period between the defeat of Alaric, the Gallic invasion and Britannic revolt is the time at which Stilicho could develop his policy with least opposition. By an unhappy chance, we are plunged into a historical twilight after the clear day¹ of Claudian, and are condemned to grope about in a shadowland. But

*Claudian's
silence
premature.*

¹ Perhaps we should rather say 'the dazzling radiance.'

this accentuates the importance of Claudian's contribution of facts and point of view. Whatever judgment we pass on Stilicho's career as a whole, we are constrained by the scantiness of our information on the latter period to base it chiefly on what has gone before. The view we take of Stilicho's actions in the period selected for this essay cannot be materially modified by what is merely a continuance of a policy already projected, and already put into action. And our judgment upon Stilicho, the one man of the epoch, depends almost entirely upon our estimate of Claudian.

This is not a question of slight importance. If Claudian is ruled out as utterly unworthy of credence¹, then the history of the Roman Empire, at least its Western half, becomes a blank for ten years. But for a few facts to be ascertained from the Eastern writers, from the Chroniclers, or from a thankless investigation of Orosius, we should know nothing. Even the scanty inferences to which we might proceed would be in general merely plausible hypotheses. An entire ignorance of the course of events in years which saw the final separation of East and West, the final vanquishment of paganism, and a preliminary trial of strength between the Goths and Italy, is not a result which we can regard with indifference.

*His
historical
value.*

The historian's function is twofold. We require of him accuracy of detail, and accuracy of view. Not

¹ Professor Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 67, shews signs of a reaction against the unquestioning trust which too many commentators upon Claudian have shewn. 'In the works of a poet whose leading idea was so extravagant, we can hardly expect to find much historical truth.' Dr Hodgkin is juster, vol. i. p. 729: 'Claudian's verses, whatever their defects, have shed over the last eventful nine years a light that we shall grievously miss in those that are to come.'

that accuracy of outlook can be divorced from accuracy in minute things—on the contrary it must be based ultimately solely on such precision—but that microscopic investigation, if pursued exclusively, leads to shortsightedness. A verdict must be passed upon Claudian under both these heads.

Claudian was not a professed historian, and, as a poet, avoided philosophical disquisitions upon history. He had a wide if not profound knowledge of Rome's history. From Romulus to Marcus Antoninus he had an arsenal of apt instances, ever at his command and lavishly employed; but there are few general conclusions. One thing, however, he comprehended, the spirit of Rome. In one striking passage¹ he celebrates its glories. He had entered into the secret of the power of 'the parent of arms and law,' of the undaunted resolution which quailed at no disaster, which bore no rancour after the hour of battle, but cherished as a mother the whole world, of that spirit which confidently looked to an eternal dominion. Such an illustration of the solidarity of the empire as we find in this passage, is both a striking and a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the empire at the moment of its disintegration.

Claudian's view of the leading politicians of the *His* time, and his interpretations of its most striking events, *position.* will often arouse our suspicion. This is due to his peculiar position. Again we find poetry employed, if not as a political instrument, yet as a means to maintaining a personal predominance. But Rome was not the Rome of the Augustan Age, nor was Stilicho, conciliatory, tactful, elaborate actor as he was, in the

¹ *de cons. Stil.* III. 130-173.

position of Augustus. He could, if he wished, despise and neglect the senate, whose glories he attempted to revive; his poet was less potent than one maniple of his barbarians. Yet even the Vandal was not insensible to the devotion of his enthusiastic client. He found him never lacking in power to give expression, after the manner of the skilled diplomatist or the 'inspired' leader-writer of modern times, to the successive phases of his policy, to justify his doubtful acts, to gloss over his failures and miscarriages, and to excite a glow of enthusiasm at his successes. His dexterous powers of expression, his consummate rhetorical skill, were qualities still useful at a court; the alliance between Stilicho and Claudian was not altogether one-sided.

But this intimate relationship may have a tendency to damage Stilicho. We may refuse to credit one who was compelled to speak well of his patron. It leads us to trust rather to incidental statements than to the general point of view. It is difficult to believe Stilicho to have been the one 'faithful amid the faithless found.' It is hard to listen to the general chorus of censure without being moved to a judgment unfavourable in some degree. Indiscriminate eulogy is more severely judged by some temperaments than even the most rancorous abuse.

*Strong
Roman
bias.*

Another factor which impairs Claudian's judgment is his strong bias. The most strenuous exponent of the narrow Roman spirit which still survived in corners of the Roman curia, was an Alexandrian. With all the ardour of the enthusiastic novice he rails upon the barbarians. In this he cannot have represented Stilicho's views, for that statesman was himself scarcely a Roman. Our estimate of Alaric—to Claudian a Timur,

or a Gengis Khan—can never be so harsh as that of the representative of a society, engaged in deadly contest with a terrible invader, whom it feared even more than it hated. That absence of all magnanimous or chivalrous feeling, which we are conscious of in his treatment of Alaric, and not less in the delineation of Rufinus and the unhappy Eutropius, warped his judgment and marred his poetry.

It is then in particular facts that we can assume most readily his veracity. The verdict may be harsh, but he is a witness whose testimony we can chiefly trust when he is off his guard. The question whether or no Claudian had any motive for concealing or disguising the truth must always be in the mind of the historian. If he had not, his statements may be trusted. There are numerous assertions which, after the employment of this canon, can be allowed, and there are a considerable number which have been confirmed by other credible witnesses. Moreover, a contemporary speaking to contemporaries cannot indulge in unlimited make-believe. His audience, however favourable and courteous, will exclaim at his crudeness and gaucherie if he makes statements which are glaringly false. However complaisant it may be towards deft manipulation of the truth, neat compliments, and delicate euphemism, it will plainly shew its disgust whenever the poet in the extravagance of his ardour too openly disregards the facts. Accepting this general principle we shall find a number of statements which there is no reason to discredit.

With the best will in the world, Claudian in many things could not hope to avoid inaccuracy. The gazetteer, who is forced to write before the enthusiasm

*Inevitable
inaccuracy.*

excited by a great exploit has chilled, must through the hastiness of his writing depend often upon rumour and conjecture. The accounts of any important success are always conflicting. The writer has little time and less inclination to sift his material. Moreover, the distance between East and West, and still more the estrangement between them, rendered the task of obtaining accurate information particularly trying. The travelling merchants too, we are told, gratuitously added to this difficulty by their deliberate misstatements; and when, after Stilicho was declared an enemy by the East, communication was still more severely restricted, the troubles of a candid enquirer must have been seriously augmented. In all the accounts of events in Asia, we are bound to give less credit to Claudian owing to his geographical handicap¹. In dealing with the troubles of Asia, he is at times vague. Distance, the estrangement of East and West, and his haste, all conspired to render him less trustworthy².

*The poet's
tendency
to exaggerate.*

The poet's leaning towards exaggeration and embellishment, is another cause of distrust. Claudian is too sophisticated, too elaborate, to win our trust. He lacks that culmination of the highest art—naturalness.

¹ In such a case too Claudian seems to give himself more licence. He follows in the track of older poets, and seeks rather to display his learning by as many proper names as possible. Britain, Africa, and Asia Minor, give him opportunities for such encyclopædical displays. The whole of the poem on Eutropius seems an astonishing *tour de force* which is in independence, if not in defiance, of the facts, which were at that period peculiarly hard to ascertain.

² His habit of writing 'réchauffés' of former poems shews how skilfully he availed himself of the lapse of time. As in the classic instance of Demosthenes' and Aeschines' speeches on their embassy to Philip, the later account has many discrepancies with the earlier, and the poet's licence is under still less restraint. A doubtful battle becomes in process of time a triumph.

He describes victories with the intent to dazzle his hearers both by his hero's exploits and his own. One must suspect in dealing with historical questions a man who is always straining after poetic effects. He lived in an atmosphere of well-bred conventionality, where it was the mode to ignore unpleasant realities and to abstain from uncourtly home-truths. We can tolerate his praise of Stilicho, who had many qualities, and a distinctive personality, but encomiums upon a colourless weakling like Honorius are too reminiscent of the society chatter of modern journalism to excite anything but disgust or weariness. Even a master of delineation like Claudian could make nothing of Honorius.

Yet his merits as an historical artist are great. *A great historical artist.* We must at once admit that Claudian's conception of history is not the modern conception of history, or even Thucydides' conception. But he gives the colour and life to his accounts of contemporary affairs which we could ill spare. Judged by his own standards he attains to a high degree of merit. He is necessarily not systematic in the sense in which the historian is systematic. But he is a master of the narrator's art. The consummate manner in which he makes his selection of facts, groups them, and connects them, can only excite the keenest admiration. He gives his narratives a symmetry and consistency to which the ordinary historian, bound by the stringent rules of his craft, to adhere closely to fact, to invent nothing, to pervert nothing, cannot hope to attain¹. His skill in the delineation of character is such as few historians

¹ We cannot more reasonably expect from Claudian a copious and detailed account of contemporary events, not admitting of poetic treatment, than require Aeschylus in the *Persae* to give an ordered exposition of all that happened at Salamis.

possess. The characters of Stilicho, of Rufinus, of Eutropius, may be condemned as false. They can never be censured for lack of graphicness, or for lack of vitality. Claudian may plead in extenuation of many a blemish that at least he never indulged in allegories, that he is always direct and pointed. With all their faults then, these delineations are great, perhaps the greatest, contributions to our knowledge of the time.

*Great care
needed.*

But such an author must be used with the greatest discrimination. Many critics, carried away by their admiration of Claudian, have accepted almost verbatim his praises of Stilicho, with many a sharp censure of the cynical views of eastern writers, to whom they ascribe moral defects most serious in a historian. But it is unsound to attribute to the statesman of the time exemplary virtue, while imputing to the historians every fault. Corruption in high places was symptomatic of the universal corruption. It is far more probable that writers seeing venality triumphant, themselves adopted low standards of truth and debased views of humanity, than that wise statesmen and devoted patriots had suffered through the tender mercies of conspicuously mendacious and unscrupulous historians. Stilicho may have had as lofty aims as Seneca, but he had also Seneca's suppleness and complaisance. Many statesmen have found by experience that they must adjust ethics to expediency, and not least Stilicho. Much can be said in extenuation. He was generous, and not vindictive, he was comparatively humane, comparatively upright, he did not descend to the lowest depths of baseness. But the consciousness of just aims made him the less scrupulous. If he did not murder Mascezel, he assassinated Rufinus; in either case the end justified the means.

It was by his instrumentality that the change from the ancient to the mediaeval world was set on foot. His dealings with Alaric were condemned by a patriotism which he, as a Vandal, had never imbibed. Yet he ever desired, if it were possible, to use the nobler expedient. He strangely reminds us of Pompeius¹. There is the same ambition of supremacy—the ruling motive—combined with a desire to obtain that end by irreproachable methods, the same administrative and military capacity, paralysed at times by inexplicable irresolution, the same tortuous methods, and the same aversion for directness or explicitness. Here then, valuable as is the quantity of facts which Claudian supplies, we may not trust him, but must strive to test each statement. In our judgment of Rufinus and Eutropius, on the other hand, we must allow for obvious hostile animus.

Again, Claudian as an artist claims freedom of treatment. He refuses to bind himself strictly to chronological definition; the narrative once started, we must ourselves supply a hiatus, or more precisely indicate the dates. He is not a chronologist but a poet, and moreover he is addressing those who need no information on these points. We must have recourse to others to obtain the chronological framework, and to test his statements. Fortunately in many places a law, or an inscription, or passages in other writers, attest his complete accuracy. In other cases the historian must always have in mind the famous query of the Roman iudex—‘Cui bono?’ If there is no reason to suspect him of special pleading, or of deceitful intent, we may safely trust him; otherwise reliance is dangerous.

¹ Cf. Professor Bury. If he was the Pompeius of the age, Gainas appears to have been the Cinna.

The faults and virtues of Claudian are inextricably blended. Not a historian, but an artist in the historical style, he gives us the atmosphere of the time, he makes us more vividly and closely acquainted with the characteristics of the period, than any except the very greatest of historians could do. The brilliance of his sketches is heightened by what is a defect historically speaking, his hasty composition. His tact, his finish, and his refinement, are qualities derived or perfected by that sojourn among courtiers which also produced an obsequiousness which bordered on servility. The rhetoric, which often hides the truth from us, also achieved his finest passages. Nor finally can we regret his attachment to Stilicho. The smallest benefit which the latter bestowed on him was sustenance and patronage. He gave him much more—a worthy theme. Claudian was transformed from the idle minstrel of some mediocre aristocrat, doomed to fritter away his talents on show poems, trifling epigrams, or hackneyed epithalamia, into the poet of majestic and impassioned utterance, wrestling in the consciousness of strength with the most arduous of tasks, and triumphing over all. The debt was great, the quittance was still more splendid. We may upbraid Claudian for doing violence to truth in his zeal for friendship, yet his monument to Stilicho will survive most histories. If his delineation of Stilicho is not ‘*ben vero*,’ it is at least ‘*ben trovato*,’ and his noble eulogy of Stilicho¹ is his own best epitaph. In him shines forth again in the radiance of a stormy sunset Latium and all Rome’s spirit.

¹ *De bell. Get.* 374:

‘*inque uno princeps Latiumque et tota refulsit
Roma viro.*’

CHAPTER IX.

Invasion of Rhadagaisus—Accounts of Orosius and Zosimus—Faesulae—Date of battle—Roman commander—Vandals invade Gaul—Constantine the ‘tyrant’—He crosses from Britain to Gaul—Establishes himself at Arelate—Stilicho inactive—Alaric marches toward Italy—Stilicho advocates an understanding with Alaric—Mutinous temper of soldiery—Death of Stilicho—The ‘last phase.’

THE silence of Claudian leaves the historian scantily equipped for the recording of the events of the succeeding years. The Muses are all hushed, and Clio does not atone for the silence of Calliope. This is greatly to be regretted. The confused and contradictory accounts of the invasion of Rhadagaisus and of the fall of Stilicho make us realise at once how great a loss history, no less than poetry, has sustained through Claudian’s sudden vanishment.

It was the fate of Italy in these years to be the goal of all barbarian aspiration¹. Alaric, Rhadagaisus, and once more Alaric, essayed to gain a footing there, and

¹ What the *Chronicon Gallicum* (Ol. 296) styles: ‘saeva Italiae barbarici motus tempestas incubuit.’ Or as Orosius says, vii. 37, ‘tunc Gothorum populi cum duobus potentissimis regibus suis per Romanas provincias bacchabantur.’

the third time brought with it its proverbial fortune. The first inroad of Alaric was amply hymned by Claudian, his later invasion with its epoch-making consequences has in later times compelled the historian's attention, but the intermediate attack of Rhadagaisus, in itself of considerable interest, has always received scant treatment. We have only the accounts of Orosius (which can be supplemented from Augustine) and Zosimus, to add to the notices of the chroniclers, and these accounts are not reconcilable.

The invasion of Rhadagaisus.

The Christian writers do not afford any systematic account of this invasion. Augustine and Orosius in their attempts to justify the ways of God to Man, contrast Rhadagaisus with Alaric to the former's detriment. This circumstance perhaps makes their allusive references of more account than their actual statements. They refer to matters of common knowledge, and, with a slight allowance for exaggeration, may be trusted in such cases. They could hardly minimise the great consequences of Alaric's presence in Italy, but they could tone down the calamitous circumstances which attended it. Providence, *ex hypothesi*, had determined to chastise that generation. In its mercy, however, it had decided not unduly to strain the faith of the elect, and thus had chosen Alaric, not Rhadagaisus, as its scourge¹. Rhadagaisus was the most brutish of all

¹ Orosius calls God a 'iustus dispensator.' Augustine, *Civ. Dei* v. 23, 'quod tamen nostra memoria recentissimo tempore Deus miserabiliter et misericorditer fecit, non cum gratiarum actione commemorabit; sed, quantum in ipsis est, omnium, si fieri potest, hominum oblivione sepelire conantur, quod a nobis, si tacebitur, similiter erimus ingrati.'... 'Deus... cum statuisset irruptione barbarica graviora pati dignos mores hominum castigare, indignationem suam tanta mansuetudine temperavit, ut illum primo faceret miserabiliter vinci, ne ad infirmorum animos evertendos gloria daretur daemonibus, quibus eum supplicare constabat.'

Rome's foes¹. An untamed barbarian, whose thirst for cruelty could never be glutted, an uncompromising opponent of the Christian Faith, and a zealous upholder of moribund Paganism, he was as little affected as any man of his time by respect for Roman arts and Roman civilisation. Alaric appears, even in the hour of victory, to stand in awe of Rome, to be impressed by her past, and not altogether doubtful of her future. His highest aim was to gain Roman patronage and Roman recognition. He was a Christian, even though the Arianism he professed was held in slight repute by the rigid orthodoxy which had but now asserted its supremacy in the Roman world. He was a hero, with the hero's usual weakness for military fame, but without taint of cruelty; Rhadagaisus was an untutored and unmanageable savage, if not a pitiless monster. In the dearth of better arguments, the Christian apologist might therefore with some shew of reason point to Alaric's milder side, and expatiate upon the terrors which Rhadagaisus would have brought in his train².

The details which Orosius and Zosimus give can hardly be harmonised. We shall therefore give Orosius'

¹ Orosius calls him 'omnium praesentiumque hostium longe immanissimus.'... 'hic supra hanc incredibilem multitudinem indomitamque virtutem paganus et Scythia erat, qui, ut mos est barbaris huiusmodi gentibus, omnem Romani generis sanguinem dis suis propinare devoverat, non tantum gloriam aut praedam quantum in-exsaturabili crudelitate ipsam caedem amaret in caede...favorem deorum sacrificiorum obsequio invitaret et immoderatio caedes sine fructu emendationis arsisset et error novissimus peior priore crevisset.' Augustine says, 'quotidianis sacrificiis placabat et invitabat deos... quibus immolare quotidie ferebatur.'

² Augustine, 'nam si ille tam impius cum tantis et tam impiis copiis Romam fuisset ingressus cui pepercisset? quibus honorem locis martyrum detulisset, quas autem isti pro diis suas voces haberent, quanta insultatione iactarent, quod ille vicisset, tanti potuisset, etc.' So the Arians.

account first because he is a contemporary¹, and in Africa should have been able to obtain more trustworthy information than Zosimus at Constantinople.

*Orosius'
account.*

The coming of Rhadagaisus was sudden, and like that of Alaric in his first invasion, of which Claudian has given us such a graphic picture², created the wildest panic, which, however, no poet has depicted in such striking colours. At Carthage, Augustine tells us³, it was rumoured that Rome had fallen, and patriotism being overpowered by religion, great was the exultation of the adherents of the older creed at this striking testimony to the efficacy of Pagan gods and Heathen rites. A similar feeling was manifest at Rome. Indeed, if Alaric's approach ere now had caused such agitation, Rome might with still greater reason be troubled at the thought of Rhadagaisus' unbridled barbarism wreaking its savage will upon every obstacle in his path.

Faesulae

Of his route and march we have little to the point. His advance seems to have been unchecked until he had penetrated far into Italy⁴. In Tuscany near Faesulae his course was at last barred by a mercenary host—

¹ So too was Augustine: 'nostra memoria, recentissimo tempore.' No reference is made to the mercy of Providence in repelling the first invasion of Alaric, 401 or 2-403 A.D. After the capture of Rome, such remarks would be out of place.

² Claudian, *de bello Getico*, 205-329.

³ 'nam propinquante illo his locis, ubi nutu summae maiestatis oppressus est, cum eius fama ubique crebresceret, nobis apud Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, iactare, spargere Paganos quod ille vinci non posset ab illis qui talia diis Romanis sacra non facerent, nec fieri a quoquam permetterent.'

⁴ *Cons. Const.*, 'Rhadagaisus Italiam ingressus Italiam vastat.' *Chron. Gall.*, 'Rhadagaisus rex Gothorum Italiae limitem vastaturus ingreditur.' *Jordanes, Res Romanae*, 'Rhadagaisus Italiam inundavit.' *Orosius*, 'Rhadagaisus repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam. hic iam sinu receptus Italiae Romam e proximo terrore quassabat.' *Isidore*, 'Rhadagaisus Italiae parte vehementi vastatione agreditur.'

Rome's sole refuge in her days of decadence. Here by skilful dispositions his unwieldy host was penned in among the mountains, like rats in a trap, for they were unable to offer any effective resistance. It was a carnage, not an encounter¹. Rhadagaisus himself, with his two sons, was captured. He was for a while kept in durance, but at length suffered the death punishment. His army, or rather its broken remnants, were captured and sold—to them perhaps the climax of their indignities—at an aureus apiece.

We must not expect our authorities to have a *The* pedant's regard for details. The numbers of the army *numbers.* would naturally vary with the imaginative powers of the narrator. Isidore, Jordanes, Orosius, declare for 200,000, Augustine is content with a modest 100,000 slain, Zosimus avers that there were 400,000. In such a case conjecture is futile, but one is more inclined to accept the lowest estimate, and to cut that down also².

¹ *Cons. Const.*, 'Stilicho cum exercitu robore militum apud Florentiam Tuscorum urbem occurrit, commissoque praelio Rhadagaisus victus est... Rhadagaisus in Tuscia multis Gothorum milibus caesis ducente exercitu Stilichone superatus et captus est apud Florentiam urbem ante portas x. Kal. Sept.' Pseudo-Isidore, 'cuius exercitus a Romanis in montuosis locis conclusus fame est potius quam ferro consumptus. quod audiens Romanus imperator principem militum obviam misit qui Rhadagaisum ante ingressum Tuscie gladio peremit.' This interpolator calls Alaric Enricus. *Chron. Gall.*, 'Rhadagaisus occubuit. in tres partes per diversos principes divisus exercitus aliquam repugnandi Romanis aperuit facultatem insigne triumpho.' This division is not elsewhere stated. If it is true, it makes the defeat easier to understand. The *Fasti Vindob.* repeats the *Cons. Const.* Orosius, 'Rhadagaisus conterritus divinitus in Faesulanis montes, sine proelio victus et vinctus.' Augustine, 'uno die, tanta celeritate sic victus est ut ne uno quidem non dicam extincto, sed vulnerato Romanorum, multo amplius quam centum millium prosternerentur eius exercitus.' Zosimus says he attacked unexpectedly, 'καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπροσδοκῆτοις ἐπιπεσὼν, ἅπαν τὸ πολέμιον πανωλεθρία διέφθειρεν.'

² Olympiodorus, frag. 9, says that the *ὀπτίματοι* amounted to 12,000. This would suggest a large army. Orosius says, 'qui parcissime referunt' say there were 200,000.

There is not even unanimity with regard to the scene of the battle. Zosimus declares that Stilicho anticipated Rhadagaisus' approach, and, after crossing the Danube, there annihilated the hostile army. But if Rhadagaisus had not yet set foot upon the soil of Italy, and was still on the further side of the Danube, his intentions could not have created that panic which Zosimus himself tells us did exist. There is therefore no reason to doubt that the battle took place at Faesulae near Florence¹.

Date. The date is not absolutely certain. The *Consularia Constantinopolitana* state that Rhadagaisus entered Italy the year before his overthrow². If this be so, according to most authorities, 404 A.D. is the date of the entry, and Faesulae took place in 405. Marcellinus, however, assigns the battle to 406 A.D. Another chronicler actually places the invasion in 400 A.D., the year when Alaric first entered Italy. As Rhadagaisus

¹ Rhadagaisus soon met his end. Marcellinus, 406 A.D., 'Rhadagaisum continuo devicerant, ipsius caput amputant captivi eius singulis aureis distrahentes.' Isidore, 'ipse postremum rex captus est et interfectus.' The *Cons. Const.* gives a further detail (so the *Fast. Vindob.*) 'Rhadagaisus victus et captus est et ante portas civitatis capite truncatus.' Jordanes, 'omnes captivos, quos rettulerant, singulis aureis vendiderunt.' Orosius, 'Rhadagaisus paulisper retentus ac deinde interfectus, tanta vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuisse fertur ut utilissimorum pecudum modo singulis aureis passim greges hominum venderentur.' (So Jordanes.) The greed of their purchasers was justly punished by a pestilence which broke out and caused the death of most. Augustine mentions his sons, 'ipse cum filiis mox captus est poena debita (necatus est).' Zosimus says that the survivors were taken in pay by Stilicho. 'ὥστε μηδένα σχεδὸν ἐκ τούτων περισωθῆναι πλὴν ἐλαχίστους ὅσους αὐτὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσέθηκε συμμαχία.' His chief authority, Olympiodorus, frag. 9, says that Stilicho 'Ροδογαίσον προσηταιρίσατο.' This is incredible and even Zosimus' milder account may not be true. It is better to follow the Western authorities.

² 'Rhadagaisus Italiam ingressus vastat contra quem anno sequente Stilicho occurrit.' So *Fast. Vindob.* The battle is mentioned in Paulinus, *ep.* 35, p. 34.

is never mentioned in Claudian's poems this is inconceivable.

To add to the hardships of the investigator, it is *The* even uncertain who was the Roman commander. Orosius *general*. and Marcellinus declare that Uldin and Sarus, kings of the Huns and Goths, won this great victory¹. Zosimus, who contrives to discredit his account by every inaccuracy in his power, maintains that it was Stilicho, who by this unexpected triumph was raised to the highest pinnacle of fame². At first sight the evidence is unfavourable to Zosimus; yet there are strong arguments for his statement. Though he would hardly have deserted the centre of affairs in order to confront Rhadagaisus beyond the Danube, he would certainly have deemed it his duty to withstand Rhadagaisus in Italy as he had withstood Alaric. When, too, one considers the tactics and generalship, how once

¹ Uldin had served against Gainas. Tillemont. Sarus afterwards betrayed Stilicho. The *Cons. Const.* name Stilicho as leader. So Isidore (Stilicho dux Romanus), *Fast. Vindob.* and *Chron. Gall.*, 'Stilicho usque ad internicionem delevit.'

² 'ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μεγαφρονῶν ὁ Σ. εἰκότως τῇ νίκῃ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν στεφανούμενος ἐπανήει παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τῶν προδοκῆθέντων κινδύνων τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλευθερίσας,' v. 26. We have an inscription (*C. I. L.* vi. 1196) generally referred to this. Singularly there is no reference to Stilicho. 'Imppp. Clementissimis Felicissimis toto orbe victoribus D.D.D. N.N.N. Arc. Hon. Theod. Auggg. ad perenne indicium triumphorum, quod Getarum nationem in omne aevum docuere extingui, arcum simulacris eorum tropaeisque decoratur. S.P.Q.R. totius operis splendore.' It is strange that the invaders should be called Goths, of whom Alaric is generally regarded as the leader. Marcellinus and Isidore call him a Scythian, perhaps a mere term of abuse. Olympiodorus speaks of the Gothic army of Rhadagaisus. Orosius calls Rhadagaisus a Scythian, and his army Gothic. No doubt he led a motley host, and the word Goth had a vague ethnological significance. The name Theodosius (the Younger) in the inscription shews that it cannot refer to the earlier defeat of Alaric. We must then refer it to the defeat of Rhadagaisus, though while Alaric survived, the Gothic nation could scarcely be described as blotted out—except in inscriptions.

again a barbarian host outgeneralled, is penned in a confined space and reduced to hopelessness, one might swear that this was the work of Stilicho and no other¹. The barbarian chieftains may have taken a considerable though probably subordinate part in the engagement; Stilicho must have been the director of the campaign, which culminated in the annihilation of the invaders.

The question why Rhadagaisus received less clement treatment than Alaric remains. There is little reason to think that Alaric and Rhadagaisus were acting in concert². The history of these years seems to shew that Alaric and Stilicho, in spite of temporary disagreements, understood one another. The strength of Alaric as an ally or protector of Rome rested on his unique position³. The advent of Rhadagaisus was an alarming event to Stilicho, an embarrassment to Alaric, who saw his privileges challenged by a rival. It was possible to bargain with one barbarian chief, and to employ one as an instrument, but the policy, if it were adopted in two cases, failed. Alaric would lose his predominant place, Rome would be overrun by barbarians and be reduced

¹ It is also said that Stilicho used bribery, and that only one Roman was wounded! Aug. *Civ. Dei* v. 23. There is a family likeness between this invasion and that which Claudian describes. Cf. *De VI. cons. Hon.* 238 etc. 'omnibus exclusus coeptis consedit in uno colle tremens,' *ib.* 321, 'comitatur euntem Pallor et atra Fames.' The prejudice of Orosius and Augustine would account for their passing over Stilicho's part in the victory.

² Though some authorities say so. Isidore calls Alaric 'consors regni,' and says that he desired to avenge 'tantam multitudinem Gothorum a Romanis extinctam.' He seems to use 'Scytha' and 'Gothus' as synonyms. Orosius and Augustine can hardly have regarded Alaric and Rhadagaisus as confederates, and Zosimus considers Alaric as an ally of Stilicho.

³ Zosimus, v. 26. Alaric remained in Gaul and undertook to gain Illyria for the West. 'συνθήκας δὲ περὶ τούτου ποιησάμενος εἰς ἔργον ἄγειν ὅσον οὐδέπω τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν προσεδόκα.' While he was waiting Rhadagaisus was beginning to threaten.

to clientage. The intrusion therefore of Rhadagaisus, which even Alaric would view with jealousy, must by Rome be resisted to the uttermost¹. Alaric with his Romanophile tendencies was amenable to Stilicho's direction. Rhadagaisus was an unschooled savage, heedless of policy and diplomacy. There was therefore no opening for a compromise, and clemency might have proved hazardous. The invaders may not have been annihilated, but as an organised movement, the invasion was at an end. Few escaped from Faesulae, and the journey out of Italy proved doubtless more difficult than the entrance. The majority were slain or sold into slavery, and the anecdotes related shew how numerous the latter class must have been.

Zosimus' account is characterised by his usual *Zosimus*. blunders. He narrates no events between Stilicho's encounter with Alaric in Greece (396 A.D.) and the invasion of Rhadagaisus. While Alaric was preparing his forces for an attack upon the East in concert with Stilicho, Rhadagaisus was mustering an army from the tribes beyond the Danube and the Rhine, and with this Celtic and German host, which amounted to 400,000 men, he intended to invade Italy. The tidings caused great panic, and Rome was in extreme peril. But Stilicho, undaunted, marched across the Danube with all the forces which had been concentrated at Ticinum² in Liguria (30,000 men) and reinforcements of Alans, Goths, and Huns (the latter are mentioned by other writers). The barbarians were attacked unexpectedly, and the few who survived threw in their lot with Stilicho.

¹ Olympiodorus' statement that Stilicho won over Rhadagaisus to his side after Faesulae may be dismissed summarily.

² At Pavia. Tillemont, pp. 539-541.

It suffices to point out that an expedition on such a vast scale as that of Rhadagaisus, in which we must leave *in medio* so many details, the numbers of the invaders, the place of battle, the date¹, the person of the Roman commander, the position of Alaric, the circumstances of the campaign, which must have lasted some months at least, has been ill treated by history.

*The
Vandals.*

Italy herself had suffered from the invasion of Rhadagaisus, the most civilised of her provinces was in the following year (406 A.D.) to experience a similar plague, and without hope of relief. Stilicho, in that crisis at which Alaric had first threatened Italy, had withdrawn the army of Gaul, and as Claudian boasts, left the Rhine guarded by fear alone². The exigencies of the next few years perhaps did not admit of the sending back of these troops. At any rate the year subsequent to Rhadagaisus' defeat³ saw the Vandal invasion of Gaul⁴.

¹ Professor Bury (*Gibbon*, vol. III. 500) believes that Zosimus confuses the events of 406 A.D. with 401 A.D., when Rhadagaisus must have been Alaric's confederate. But Claudian (*Bell. Get.* 279 sq.) never mentions Rhadagaisus, and speaks only of revolted tribes. This seems to be against this view.

² 'tutumque remotis

excubiis Rhenum solo terrore relinquunt.' *Bell. Get.* 421.

³ 406 A.D. *Cons. Ital.*, 'Arcadio et Probo consulibus transito Rheno totam Galliam crudeli persecutione vastant collocatis (collectis) secum in comitatu Alanis gente moribus et ferocitate aequali.' The actual day was 'pridie Kal. Jan.' Dec. 31. Prosper Tiro, 'Wandali et Halani Gallias traiecto Rheno ingressi II. Kal. Jan.' *Chron. Gall.*, Ol. 296, 'Alani et Wandali et Suevi Gallias ingressi sunt, diversarum gentium rabies Gallias dilacerare exorsa.' Ol. 297, 'Galliarum partem Vandali atque Alani vastavere.' Cassiodorus, 'his consulibus Vandali et Alani transiecto Rheno Gallias intraverunt.' Zosimus, VI. 3, 'ἔκτον ἤδη τὴν ὑπατον ἔχοντας ἀρχὴν Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Πρόβου, Βανδῖλοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐλυμήναντο, καὶ πολλὴν ἐργασάμενοι φόβον, ἐπίφοβον καὶ τοῖς ἐν Βρεττανίαις στρατοπέδοις ἐγένοντο.' The reference to the nations beyond the Alps shews Zosimus' usual vagueness in geographical matters. Orosius, 'interea ante biennium Romanae inruptionis excitatae per Stilichonem gentes Alanorum, ut dixi, Sueborum, Vandalorum, etc.'

⁴ Procopius, I. 3, 'Βανδῖλοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαίωτιν ὥκνημένοι λίμνην,

This tribe is said to have come from Scythia, driven by famine, and to have settled in Germany, now long freed from the Roman yoke. Not content with this, it crossed the unguarded frontier, and first attacked Gallia Belgica, then Aquitania, a province which abounded in luxury¹, and afterwards other districts. The resistance of the Gauls seems to have been very slight, and though three distinct stages are mentioned, there is no reason to believe that the occupation of Gaul took any length of time. The tide of invasion was stemmed by the Pyrenees, which saved Spain for a while from the barbarian inundation, and returned therefore upon the unhappy Gallic provinces with renewed force². In the absence of precise information as to the numbers³ of the invaders, we must form our own conjectures. The barbarians seem at first to have passed merely from place to place, compelling cities to surrender, and selling conditions of peace on terms very favourable to themselves⁴.

ἐπειδὴ λιμῶ ἐπιέζοντο, ἐς Γερμάνους τε οἱ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥηνὸν ἔχουσιν.' Salvian, *de Gubern.*, vii. p. 164, 'primum a solo patrio effusa est in Germaniam.'

¹ Salvian, 'post cuius exitium primum arsit regio Belgarum, deinde opes Aquitanorum luxuriantium, et post haec corpus omnium Galliarum.'

² Orosius, vii. 38, 'praeterea gentes alias copiis viribusque intolerabiles quibus nunc Galliarum Hispaniarumque provinciae premuntur... ultro suscitant. 40. Francos proterunt, Rhenum transeunt, Gallias invadunt directoque impetu Pyrenaeum usque perveniunt. cuius obice ad tempus repulsae per circumiacentes provincias refunduntur, his bacchantibus.'

³ Procopius says the Vandals were probably the bulk of the host, but there were other tribes. Zosimus, vi. 3, 'Βανδῖλοι Συηβοὶς καὶ Ἀλάνοις ἑαυτοὺς ἀναμίξαντες.' Prosper, 'Vandali et Alani.' Procopius, 'Ἀλάνους ἐταιρισάμενοι Ἰοσθικὸν ἔθνος.' Orosius: Alans, Sueves, Vandals and Burgundians, but also 'multae cum his aliae,' perhaps mere rhetoric. Jordanes: Alans, Sueves, Vandals. So Isidore.

⁴ Jerome, *ep.* 123, 16, 'innumerae et ferocissimae gentes universas Gallias occupaverunt.'

Gibbon thinks these numbers were small.

The appearance of Constantine in Gaul (to be discussed afterwards) was but an interlude, and the loss of this highly civilised province, and a little later (409 A.D.) the loss of Spain, are events only less momentous than the fall of Rome and the settlement of the barbarians in Italy.

The particular occasion of this inroad is doubtful. The enemies of Stilicho saw his hand in these lamentable occurrences. He is accused of having invited barbarians into Gaul to secure the empire for his son Eucherius¹. The fact that Gaul left unguarded became so easy a prey of the invaders lends some colour to this charge. The policy however seems too risky, and the confidence in his ability to rid himself of these invaders seems too exaggerated, even for a victorious general flushed with the spoils of Rhadagaisus. These incursions seem rather to have paralysed his energies, and to have suspended those designs upon the Byzantine empire which he had hoped to prosecute in concert with Alaric. As far as Stilicho's activities from the moment of the invasion till his death (408 A.D.) are concerned, our information is well-nigh a blank², and we

¹ Orosius, vii. 38, 'ultro in arma sollicitans, detereso semel Romani nominis metu suscitavit eas interim ripas Rheni quater et pulsare Gallias voluit, sperans miser sub hac necessitatis circumstantia quia et extorquere imperium genero posset in filium, et barbarae gentes tam facile comprimi quam commoveri valerent.' Macchiavelli again. The Western writers have their share of that 'novellistische Geize,' which Vogt condemns in the Byzantine historians. So Jordanes, 'spreto Honorio regnumque eius inhians Alanorum Suevorum Vandalorumque gentes donis pecuniisque inlectos contra regnum Honorii excitavit, Eucherium filium suum paganum et Christianis insidias molientem cupiens Caesarem ordinare.'

² *Cod. Theod.* vii. 13, 16 and 17, may be referred (with Clinton) to measures of defence against the Vandals, though Godefroy refers them to the struggle with Rhadagaisus. 1. 'provincialibus contra hostiles impetus non solas iubemus personas considerari sed vires, et licet ingenuos amore patriae credamus incitari, servos etiam huius

must conclude that this is due either to waning energy or waning influence. The movements in Gaul, the secession of Britain, and the challenge made by Constantine in crossing the channel, all meet with a surprisingly weak resistance. Perfidy was the natural explanation, and Stilicho was indeed a distinguished exponent of the Macchiavellian theory of government. But in the province of criticism as in the sphere of practical affairs, excessive cynicism may easily lead one astray. The safer course is to ignore scandal and prejudice, and while acknowledging the scantiness of our information, to ascribe Stilicho's supineness to a weakening of his position as the adviser of Honorius, or to the poverty of Rome's resources¹, already strained unduly by the invasion of Rhadagaisus.

The storm of unpopularity seems to have been *Britain*. gathering elsewhere than at Ravenna. Many critics have seen with justice in the rebellion of Britain, a protest against the predominance of Stilicho. Even before the advent of the Vandals² in Gaul the legions

auctoritate edicti exhortamur ut cum primum se bellicis sudoribus offerant praemium libertatis (si apti ad militiam arma susceperunt) pulveratici etiam nomine binos solidos accepturi. xv. Kal. Mart. Rav.' 2. 'de tironibus provincialibus. Provinciales pro imminetibus necessitatibus omnes invitamus edicto quos erigit ad militiam innata libertas. ingenui igitur, qui militiae obtentu arma capiunt amore pacis et patriae sciant se denos solidos paratis rebus de nostro percepturos aerario. xiii. Kal. Mai. Rav.' If these edicts are correctly dated, the incursions of the Vandals were expected some months before they actually occurred. Perhaps they were ravaging Germany. The edicts shew that the Roman resources were impoverished.

¹ Gibbon thinks Stilicho saved Italy at the expense of Gaul. Vol. iii. p. 264.

² Freeman's article in the *English Historical Review*, 1886, is valuable on these tyrants. As he says, the facts are fairly clear, it is less easy to judge of causes and motives. p. 55, 'The elevation of Marcus marks the effect which the danger coming but not come had on the legions of Britain.' The elevation of Constantine took place after the Rhine had been actually crossed. Olympiodorus dates the

of Britain had selected one Marcus as emperor and thus openly cast off their allegiance. This 'transient and embarrassed phantom,' whose reign lasted four months, was followed by Gratianus, who met with the same destruction. The legions whose treason had not so far been marked by discretion, now at their wits' end for a successor to the two incapables, blundered into an admirable choice. There was a common soldier, whose only distinction as yet was his name Constantine. The legions in a fit of reckless superstition chose him as emperor, with the most auspicious results. Not only did he for some years maintain his popularity and disarm all mutinous opposition, he even extended his power, and won recognition from Honorius himself¹.

The sequence of events is and must remain obscure. We have a fair outline of fact, but the motives are never recorded, and the most fertile inventor of theories must be often at a loss. Constantine manifested an unexpected energy immediately after his elevation. He crossed to the Continent², and seems to have gained

event. 'καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς Βρεττανίαις πρὶν ἢ τὸ ἑβδομον ὑπαγεῦσαι εἰς στάσιν ὀρμήσαν.' So does Zosimus, vi. 2, 'ὑπάντων ὄντων Ὀνωρίου τὸ ζ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ β' οἱ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ στρατευόμενοι στασιάζαντες ἀνάγουσι Μάρκον ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεῖον θρόνον.' Sozomenos, ix. 11, 'πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ στασιάζαντες ἀναγορεύουσι Μάρκον τύραννον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Γρατιανὸν ἀνελόντες Μάρκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτος οὐ πλέον τεσσάρων μηνῶν διελθόντων ἐφονεύθη παρ' αὐτῶν πάλιν Κωνσταντεῖνον χειροτονοῦσιν, οἰηθέντες καθότι ταύτην εἶχε προσηγορίαν καὶ βεβαίως αὐτὸν κρατήσῃν τῆς βασιλείας.' Prosper 407 A.D., 'Constantinus ex infima militia ob solam speciem nominis in Britannia tyrannus exoritur et ad Gallias transit.' An 'interpolatio.' So Bede, 'propter solam spem nominis et sine merito virtutis.'

¹ In coins, Eckhel, viii. p. 176, Cohen, vi. 492-3; he calls himself Augustus and considers himself a colleague, as is proved by the inscription, Victoria Auggg. The more barbarous style distinguishes his coins from those of the earlier Constantines.

² He landed at Bononia. Olympiodorus, frag. 12, 'περαιούται ἅμα τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Βονωνίαν, ἐνθα διατρίψας καὶ ὅλον τὸν Γάλλον καὶ Ἀκύτανον στρατιώτην ἰδιοποισάμενος κρατεῖ πάντων τῶν μέρων τῆς

for himself a strong position in Gaul (407 A.D.). In the next year he took a further step, and sent Constans, his eldest son, to Spain¹. He there overcame Berenianus and Didymius, kinsmen of Honorius, who were holding Spain for him, and sent them to his father. In 409 A.D. Constantine is still so powerful that he can enforce forgiveness for the murder of Berenianus and Didymius, and the usurper even promises to come and deliver the legitimate sovereign with the forces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain². But Gerontius, a lieutenant of his, cherished resentment for some reason, and caused a rebellion in Spain. Finally in 411 A.D., three years after Stilicho's death, Constantine met his end at the hands of Constantius and Ulphilas, generals of Honorius³.

The explanation of this episode is rather a difficult task. Some disintegrating tendency seems to be at work, which led to the splitting up of the Western empire. It is remarkable that three tyrants succeed one after another in Britain, a fickle land, fertile in tyrants⁴. But something stronger than caprice seems to have been at work. The followers seem in a sense

Γαλατίας μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπεων.' Zosimus, v. 27. A letter of Honorius informs Stilicho, 'ὡς Κωνσταντεῖνος τῇ τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενος εἶη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς νήσου περαιωθείς, ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς παραγένετο.' Soz. ix. 11, 'περαιωθείς δὲ ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας ἐπὶ Βουβονίαν (a curious variant) πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας παρὰ θάλασσαν κειμένην προσηγάγετο τοὺς παρὰ Γαλάταις καὶ Ἀκουιτάνοις στρατιώτας, καὶ τοὺς τῇδε ὑπηκόους περιεποίησεν ἑαυτῷ μέχρι τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰταλίας καὶ Γαλατίας ὄρων ᾧς Κοττίας Ἀλπεῖς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι.'

It is probable that Britain was entirely deserted by the army. Freeman.

¹ Soz. ix. 11, 12. Zos. vi. 4.

² Zos. v. 43. Honorius sent him the imperial insignia. Olymp. frag. 12.

³ Marcell. Idat. Oros. vii. 42. Some say he was slain in Italy. Soz. ix. 14.

⁴ Jerome, *ep.* 42, vol. iv. p. 81.

clearer in insight and more tenacious of their purpose than their leaders, who were in the two former instances found wanting. The persistence of their disaffection should be assigned then to alarm at the movements of the Vandals, or to hatred of Stilicho and of his policy¹, or to a combination of these motives. The Roman position in Britain had been weakened by the withdrawal of legions to meet Alaric's first invasion², and the success of the Vandals would involve the isolation of Britain from the Roman world. Nothing now remained but a precarious ascendancy, challenged all the more vigorously every day by Saxon adventurers from without³, and by rebellion within. The legions in the desperation of panic took the reins into their own hands, and strove to discover a more strenuous and devoted champion in place of a *roi fainéant*, the puppet of a hated minister who had abandoned them to the Saxon wolves. Such a champion was at length found, and coerced, as he feigned⁴, into usurpation.

*Britain
deserted.*

But the revolt had not yet exhausted its sensational character. The army now embarked *en masse* for Gaul to try its fortune there, and Britain was thus suddenly left to shift for itself. Assuming that the motive of the rebellion was self-preservation, the whole force of the Britannic army, slender as it was, was necessary to confront the barbarians, and Britain therefore was per-

¹ Compare Freeman, p. 54, and Bury. Zos. vi. 3.

² Claudian, *Bell. Get.* 416 sq.:

‘venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis,
quae Scotto dat frena truci ferroque notatas
perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.’

³ Prosper, *Ol.* 297, ‘Britanniae, Saxonum incursione devastatae.’

⁴ Olymp. frag. 3, ‘πρεσβεύεται πρὸς Ὀνώριον ἄκων μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βιασθεὶς ἀπολογούμενος ἄρξαι. συγγνώμην δὲ αἰτῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίων κοινωνίαν.’

force abandoned. Even so Constantine could not bring his policy to a completely successful issue¹. A *modus vivendi* tacit or explicit was arranged, and Constantine established himself in that part of Gaul (Aquitania and the South-East) which was outside the main line of march of the barbarians towards the Pyrenees². Here Constantine was comparatively near Italy, still the centre of power in the West. Little is told us, but it would seem that the Vandals continued their ravages unchecked in the rest of Gaul, while the usurper recognised the limits of his power and consolidated his position at Arelate³. He also strove to annex Spain. His aspirations, extensive, one would imagine, were cloaked by a show of moderation. He professes to be merely a colleague of the emperors, and made lavish promises of aid to Honorius. But his designs upon Spain⁴ shew that he not unreasonably wished to make

¹ Freeman, p. 57. The story reads as though so much of Gaul as still obeyed any Roman prince submitted without a blow. The Roman commanders Neobigastes, Justin, Armenius and Chariobaudes fled. Zos. vi. 2.

² Orosius, vii. 40, says the barbarians duped him: 'ibi saepe a barbaris incertis foederibus illusus detrimento magis rei publicae fuit.' Some barbarians were sent to Spain. Prosper, 'Saxonum incursione devastatam Galliarum partem Wandali atque Alani vastavere; quod reliquum erat Constantinus tyrannus obsidebat.'

³ Olymp. frag. 12, 'οὗτος Νεοβιγάστην καὶ Ἰουστίνον στρατηγοὺς προβαλόμενος καὶ τὰς Βρεττανίας περαιοῦται ἅμα τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Βονωνίαν πόλιν καλουμένην παραθαλασσίαν.' (Zos. vi. 2, calls it a city of Germania inferior.) 'καὶ πρώτην ἐν τοῖς τῶν Γαλλίων ὄροις κειμένην ἔνθα διατρίψας καὶ ὅλον τὸν Γάλλον καὶ Ἀκουίτανον στρατιώτην ἰδιοποισάμενος, κρατεῖ πάντων τῶν μερῶν τῆς Γαλατίας μεχρὶ τῶν Ἀλπέων τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰταλίας τε καὶ Γαλατίας.'

⁴ Freeman, p. 65, sees in this an agreement with the barbarians.

'ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐκπέμπει καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι πάντων ἔθνων ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι βουλόμενος ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐξῆσαι καὶ ἅμα τὴν τῶν Ὀνωρίου συγγενῶν αὐτόθι δυναστείαν ἐκκόψαι.' Constantine feared they would join with Honorius. Zosimus, vi. 4. In the next chapter Zosimus says the Britons took up arms to defend themselves after Gerontius' revolt.

himself supreme in the West, and hoped, perhaps, if all his plans prospered, to appear in Italy in force, and under a specious show of championship to assert his mastery over Honorius. One would wish to know more of Constantine. His latent possibilities were only revealed by his sudden and romantic elevation, and his ambitions doubtless developed as rapidly as his power. A Constantine dynasty appears full-blown—a still greater miracle¹—and his whole family shewed a surprising power of adaptability. His aspirations were tempered by modesty or discretion. He did not imagine that an ex-legionary was necessarily a consummate general, but entrusted the execution of his designs to his marshals, and their success proves the soundness of his judgment. He preferred to take a central position and to play the part, it would seem, of statesman rather than of general. His selection was a gamble, but he proved worthy of his auspicious name².

*Stilicho's
supine-
ness.*

One wonders what Stilicho was doing all this while. A barbarian host conquers Gaul and threatens Spain, a formidable rival steps into the lists and challenges his supremacy, yet the consummate general and supple statesman who had won such lavish and almost merited eulogies from Claudian, sinks into a strange supineness, and confines himself to aimless and interminable intrigues with Alaric³. Not often has a great intellect shewn such a rapid decline. In every sphere, in every

¹ Orosius bitterly laments that his son Constans was originally a monk. “proh dolor” ex monacho Caesar “factus,” VII. 40.

² A late writer, Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, quoted by Freeman, mentions one failing, ‘gulae et ventri deditus.’

³ According to Zosimus, v. 27, he did not hear of Constantine until he was preparing (407 A.D.) to go to the East. A letter from the emperor says that Constantine has crossed to Gaul and has assumed the imperial functions.

department of affairs, as far as we can judge, his star began to wane. That adaptability and resourcefulness which had never previously been wanting, now deserted him. He was loath, no doubt, to abandon his long-cherished plan of subduing the East to an acknowledgment of his supremacy, a plan which but now had seemed on the eve of fruition. The spell of an impracticable idea was over him, and he seemed unable to abandon a policy, which recent events had converted into a chimera. Paralysed by despair, he made slight efforts to retrieve Rome's fortunes. The crisis was indeed severe, and Rome was in her decadence, but the thwarter of Alaric, and the conqueror of Rhadagaisus, had faced graver dangers in a serener spirit. The position of Alaric in this time of trial again became ambiguous, and perhaps Stilicho strove in vain to win his support against a people for whom he inevitably had a certain sympathy.

The curtain rises then upon the pitiful last episode of Stilicho's fortunes. It is marked by wavering indecision and weak surrender. Outwardly Stilicho long maintained his ascendancy over Honorius, and in the year previous to his fall, the marriage of the emperor with Thermantia¹ seemed to justify the most sanguine anticipations of continued predominance. Maria, Honorius' first wife, had died long ago², and it was at length proposed that her sister should take her place. Stilicho himself was not an enthusiast for the marriage, but yielded at length to the persistence of Serena³, who

¹ Zosimus, v. 28. The marriage took place after the appointment of the consuls for 408 A.D. Olympiodorus, frag. 2, omits the previous marriage of Maria.

² *Ibid.*, 'ἀπὸ πολλοῦ Μαρίας αὐτῷ τελευτησάσης τῆς γαμετῆς τὴν ταύτης ἀδελφὴν Θερμαντίαν ἤτει οἱ δοθῆναι πρὸς γάμον.'

³ There is a slight hiatus in the text, but the sense is plain.

seems at this time to have enjoyed an influence equal to that of her husband. She saw that her own safety was bound up with Honorius' fortune, and, anxious to secure an heir to the throne¹, exerted all her powers of persuasion upon Honorius, hoping thus to maintain her influence at court. The marriage was solemnised, but proved no happier than the former. Within a year Stilicho met with an ignominious death, his daughter was repudiated with contumely, and Serena herself was soon to meet death by the sword.

*Stilicho's
fall.*

The germs of distrust had doubtless long been maturing. The contest between vice and virtue was doubtless long, as in that former rivalry for preeminence of which Claudian had sung². Of the earlier stages of that distrust, which developed into dislike, and culminated in violent aversion, we are ill informed. But the later machinations and intrigues which led to Stilicho's fall, and the circumstances which attended upon his destruction have been narrated fully and (still stranger) graphically by Zosimus, whose account we shall follow.

Stilicho's fall was not due merely to the gradual estrangement of an alienated monarch. It was complicated by the counter-schemes of a self-willed wife, and his own double policy. Alaric, since his expulsion from Italy, had been staying probably in Illyricum, where Stilicho had allowed him to remain as a future

¹ Zosimus, v. 28, 'βασιλείου γονῆς ἐπιθυμοῦσα, δέει τοῦ μὴ τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτῇ δυναστείαν ἐλαττωθῆναι τῇ δευτέρᾳ θυγατρὶ συνάψαι τὸν Ὀνώριον ἔσπενδεν. οἷ δὲ γενομένου τελευτᾷ ἢ μὲν κόρη, μετ' οὐ πολὺ ταῦτά τῃ προτέρᾳ παθοῦσα.'

² 'certamen sublime diu sed moribus impar virtutum scelerumque fuit.

instrument¹. He had long cherished the design of annexing Illyricum to the West², and seems to have allowed this to become the pivot of his policy. Alaric doubtless needed time to recruit his shattered army, and Stilicho was preparing in concert with the Gothic king to attack in overwhelming force. The incursion of Rhadagaisus was the first impediment. After the annihilation of the invaders, preparations, it may be presumed, went painfully on³, but the entrance of the Vandals into Gaul and the troubles in Britain once again suspended the design. When Stilicho was at length on the point of starting, a letter from his master informed him of the elevation of Constantine and his presence in Gaul⁴, events which naturally required Stilicho's presence in Italy. Alaric, wearied by his long waiting, at length moved on, and taking advantage of the unguarded passes⁵, encamped at Emona (Laibach) and then moved to Noricum. Thence

¹ Zosimus, v. 29, says Epirus. He omits, however, all the incidents from 396 A.D. to the present time. Sozomenos, viii. 25: 'καὶ συχνὸν ἐνταῦθα προσμείνας χρόνον ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.' Rosenstein, p. 209.

² Alaric was in Greece. 'διὰ τὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνοῖσον, ὡς ἂν ἅμα οἱ τῷ τῆς ἐφ' ἧς βασιλεύοντι πολεμήσας (this cold reference to Arcadius as the monarch of the East is curious). Ἰλλυρίους ἐκείνης παρέλγεται τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῇ Ὀνωρίου προσέλθῃ.' Sozomenos, viii. 25, says measures had actually been taken, 'ὑπαρχόν τε αὐτῶν καταστάντα Ἰόβιον προπέμψας συνέθετο συνδραμεῖσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὥστε δῆθεν καὶ τοὺς τῇδε ὑπηκόους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀνωρίου ἡγεμονίαν ποιῆσαι.'

³ *Codex Theod.* vii. 1815, is an edict against lawless desertion of the colours. vii. 1318, and vii. 2013 are the last addressed to Stilicho.

⁴ Zosimus, v. 29, 'τοῦτο δ' ἂν ἔργον ἤδη προῆλθεν εἰ μὴ τοῦ βασιλέως Ὀνωρίου φθάσαντα γράμματα τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἣν ἔλασιν αὐτοῦ διεκώλυσεν, ἣν ἐκδεχόμενον Ἀλάριχον δαπανῆσαι πολύν.'

⁵ Zos., Alaric crossed the range between Pannonia and the Veneti and first stayed at Emona. Then he crossed the Ἀκύλιε and the Apennines and reached Noricum. Philost., xii. 2, 'αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀλπεῶν πύλας διήνοιξε.'

he sent envoys to Honorius claiming some reward for his labours. He asserted that all his previous actions had been regulated by Stilicho¹, and asked for compensation. Stilicho left the envoys at Ravenna and hastened himself to Rome to consult the Senate². His deference to that body would have appeared more sincere, had he convened it in a place more favourable to freedom of discussion than the palatium³. Nevertheless the Senate, with a pugnacious patriotism that perhaps outran the bounds of discretion, were at the outset all for war. Stilicho and a few who took their cue from him advocated peace. This surprising attitude led to requests for enlightenment⁴, and Stilicho proceeded to give an exposition of the secret history of his policy. This exposition was remarkably frank, and while avowing dealings with one who had wrought Italy great harm did not ignore domestic differences.

*Stilicho
and the
Senate.*

He commenced by acknowledging the justice of Alaric's claims. His settlement had been to the advantage of Rome, and it had been intended—the avowal comes strangely from the lips of Claudian's hero—to

¹ Philost., 'Στελιχῶνι δὲ ὡς οὗτος λέγει, ζῶντι μετὰ πεμπτος ἦν.' Soz., viii. 25, 'εἰς ἐχθραν καταστὰς τοῖς Ἀρκαδίου ἀρχουσι ἐβεβούλευτο πρὸς ἐναντὶ συγκροῦσαι τὰ βασιλεία καὶ στρατηγού Ῥωμαίων ἀξίωμα περὶ Ὀνώριον προξενήσας Ἀλαρίχῳ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῶν Γότθων Ἰλλυρίοις ἐπανεστῆσεν.' This title of general does not seem to have been procured or offered now. Olymp., frag. 3, Stilicho summoned Alaric.

² Zosimus, v. 29, 'ὁ δὲ Στελιχὼν τὴν πρεσβείαν δεξάμενος, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥαβέννῃ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐάσας, εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο, κοινώσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῇ γερονσίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου βουλόμενος.'

³ Ibid., 'συνελθούσης δὲ τῆς γερονσίας ἐς τὰ βασιλεία καὶ βουλῆς περὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἢ μὴ προτεθείσης, ἣ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐφέρετο γνώμη, μόνος δὲ Στελιχὼν σὺν ὀλίγοις, ὅσοι φόβῳ συγκατετίθεντο, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐχώρουν εἰρήνην πρὸς Ἀλαρίχον ποιεῖσθαι ψηφίζονοι.'

⁴ Ibid., 'τῶν δὲ τὸν πόλεμον [αἰρουμένων ἀπαιτούντων Στελιχῶνα λέγειν, ἀνθ' ὅτου ταύτην ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀξιώματος ἀνέχεται χρημάτων ὠνήσασθαι.'

strip Arcadius of a province, by the aid of a barbarian, foe to both the imperial brothers. This long-premeditated plan, he regretfully confessed, had been frustrated by conjugal differences¹. Serena, who had not, by becoming Stilicho's wife, divested herself of all affection for her nephew, had played the part of marplot, and had induced Honorius to send that letter which had checked the accomplishment of the design. He held out hopes, we may feel certain, that either in this or in some other way, Alaric would do valiant service, and thus persuaded the Senate to concede Alaric's request². But one senator, Lampadius, was still obdurate, styling the arrangement not peace but a bargain of thralldom³. Alarmed at his temerity, he immediately took refuge in a Christian church hard by⁴.

It was no doubt easier to attack the East⁵ than to confront the barbarians or the tyrant who now divided the sway of Gaul. In spite therefore of the urgency of the crisis, Stilicho still refused to grapple with it, preferring to walk in the easier paths of Byzantine conquest.

*The temper
of the
soldiery.*

¹ The letter of Honorius was shewn and apparently read. Stilicho blamed his wife, 'τὴν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ὁμόνοιαν ἀδιάφθορον φυλάττεσθαι βουλομένην.' Sozomenos, viii. 25, 'μέλλων γὰρ ἐκδημεῖν, ὥς ὠμολόγησε Στελιχῶν,' Οὐωρίου γράμμασιν ἐπεσχέθη.' So ix. 4, in the same words.

² Orosius, vii. 39. Zosimus, v. 30. 4,000 librae of gold were sent. 'οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀλλὰ Στελιχῶνος φόβῳ, τοῦτο ψηφισαμένων.' Olymp., frag. 5, 'ζῶντος Στελιχῶνος Ἀλάριχος τεσσαράκοντα κεντηνάρια μισθὸν ἔλαβε τῆς ἐκστρατείας.'

³ Zosimus, 'non est ista pax, sed pactio servitutis.' Orosius, 'Alaricum cunctamque Gothorum gentem pro pace optima et quibuscumque sedibus suppliciter ac simpliciter orantem occulto foedere favens, publice autem et belli et pacis copia negata, ad terendam terrendamque rempublicam reservavit.'

⁴ 'δίδει τοῦ παθεῖν τι διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν εἰς τινα πλησιάζουσιν τῶν Χριστιάνων ἀπέφευγεν ἐκκλησιῶν.'

⁵ Sozomenos, viii. 25. Stilicho's hatred of Arcadius. Jovius was sent on to Illyricum to join Alaric. Tillemont, vol. v. p. 558.

Here patriotism seems to have been overcome by a perverse and ill-timed ambition. But not only were his wife and the emperor opposing him, a more serious symptom of his decline was the temper of the soldiery¹. So mutinous were their inclinations, that he dreaded their meeting the emperor, and strove to dissuade Honorius from going to Ravenna to encourage the army. Even a sham mutiny which originated with one of his officers failed to scare Honorius², and those keen spirits who can always scent a minister's approaching downfall began to prepare to desert his fortunes³.

The news of the death of Arcadius gave Honorius another opportunity of asserting his independence. The occasion seemed appropriate for a visit to Constantinople, to condole with and confirm the youthful Theodosius II. Again Stilicho opposed and with greater success⁴. He proposed that he himself should

¹ On the way there was a mutiny which Stilicho was summoned to quell. Zos. v. 31. He threatened decimation, but upon the soldiers yielding, he relented, and promised his good offices with Honorius.

² Zosimus, v. 31, 'ἀλλ' οὔτε μέρος τῶν ἐν τῷ Τικίνῳ στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥάβενναν ἢ ἐτέρωθί που μετατιθεῖς, ὥς ἂν μὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ πάροδον ἀπαντήσαντες εἰς τινα κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα κινήσειεν πράξιν... τῆς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος, ἀλλ' ἐχομένου τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, Σάρος βάρβαρος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥαβέννῃ στίφος, βαρβάρων ἡγούμενος γνωμὴ Στελιχῶνος ἐκίνει πρὸς τῆς πόλεως θορύβους, οὐχ' ὥς τῷ ὄντι συνταράξαι τὰ καθεστῶτα βουλόμενος ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν ἐκφοβήσῃ τοὺς βασιλέα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥαβέννην ἀποστρέψει.' Serena wished Honorius to go to Ravenna, where he would be safer, 'ἦν γὰρ αὐτῇ σπουδὴ περισώζεσθαι τοῦτον ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐχούσης.'

³ Zosimus, v. 34, 'τοῦ δὲ οὐκ ἀποστάντος ἧς εἶχε γνώμης Ἰουστινιανὸς (an adsector and consiliarius) ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀγχινοίας φαίνεται τὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαιρόμενος, καὶ ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς Στελιχῶνα οἱ ἐν τῷ Τικίνῳ στρατιώταις τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδημήσαντες εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καταστήσουσι κίνδυνον.' When Justinian saw representations were of no avail he took his departure, lest he should be involved in Stilicho's ruin owing to his close intimacy with him.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 31, 'τὸν ὄγκον περὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐσομένων δαπανημάτων ἄγων εἰς μέσον ἀποτρέπει τὸν βασιλέα...μηδὲ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν Κωνσταντίνου

go to the East, leaving Alaric, aided by the Romans, to confront Constantine¹. The emperor consented, and after this conference at Bononia, returned to his stronghold at Ravenna.

Yet Stilicho continued to procrastinate, and only faintly endeavoured to carry out a policy of his own suggestion². His dread of mutiny, which contrasts so violently with that ascendancy of personality which the ardour of Claudian had ascribed to him, seemed to paralyse him, and left him in hopeless expectation of the end.

At length one figure, that of Olympius³, emerges *Olympius*. from the camera obscura of intrigue and cabal. His machinations had doubtless been long afoot, but it was at this time that his great influence was acquired.

συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν ἀποστῆναι φροντίδος ἥδη Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ τυράννου τὴν Γαλατίαν πᾶσαν διαδραμόντος καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ διατρίβοντος. προσεῖναι δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν ἰκανοὺς εἰς τὸ δεῖσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίας τε καὶ προνοίας καὶ τὴν Ἀλαρίχου μετὰ τοσούτου στρατοπέδου βαρβάρων ἐπιδημίαν, ἀνθρώπου βαρβάρου καὶ ἀπίστου, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εὖροι τὴν Ἰταλίαν βοηθείας ἔρημον ἐπελευσόμενον.'

Soz., ix. 4. Honorius desired 'φειδοῖ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφίδουν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, καὶ πιστοὺς ἀρχοντας καταστήσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ βασιλείας. ἐν τάξει γὰρ υἱὸς αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐδεδίει μήτι πάθοι διὰ τὸ νέον ἐτοῖμος ὦν πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν.' But Stilicho represented the necessity of his presence in Italy.

¹ This is strange after his denunciation of Alaric.

² Zosimus, v. 32, 'οὔτε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐῶαν προίων οὔτε ἑτερόν τι τῶν βεβουλεμένων ἄγων εἰς ἔργον.' He did not even move the soldiers from Ticinum to Ravenna lest they should meet Honorius. Soz., ix. 4. He received the labarum. 'καὶ γράμματα βασιλέως λαβὼν ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολήν ἀφίξιν ἔμελλεν ἐκδημεῖν τέσσαρας ἀριθμοὺς στρατιωτῶν παραλαβών.'

³ Zosimus, v. 32. Philost., xii. 1. Olympius saved Honorius from the fury of Stilicho, at great danger to himself. 'καὶ συνεργὸς αὐτῷ κατέστη πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Στελιχῶνος κατὰ τὴν Ῥάβενναν διατρίβοντος.' But he admits there were other stories which represented Olympius (or Olympiodorus) as calumniating Stilicho, his benefactor. Olympiodorus, frag. 7, speaks of his 'μιαῖφονος καὶ ἀπάνθρωπος σπουδῇ.'

Augustine praises him, ep. 129. Symmachus, ix. 60, recommends him to Pacatus.

Originally from the Euxine, he had risen to an eminent position in the government service, and had won favour by a mask of devotion which concealed considerable baseness. He contrived to pour his poisons into Honorius' ears¹, and, still more important, won to his side the soldiery. Honorius, who seems for the nonce to have assumed an energy and individuality with which few would have credited him, four days after his arrival at Ticinum harangued the troops who were to march against Constantine. Olympius gave the signal, and a massacre of various high officials took place². Among those slain were Limenius and Chariobaudes, who had fled from Gaul at the approach of Constantine, Vincentius and Selvus. When once the thirst for blood was excited, the slaughter became indiscriminate, and little reverence was paid to the imperial majesty. The emperor in mean attire strove to check his soldiers' fury, but after seeing Salvius slain at his feet, hastily withdrew³.

¹ Zosimus becomes poetic. 'πολλὰ θυμοφθόρα τοῦ Στελιχῶνος ῥήματα κατέχεε.' He declared that Stilicho desired the East for Eucherius, but Zosimus is convinced 'οὐδὲν συνεπιστάμενος ἀπηχῆς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ κατὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βεβουλευμένον.' Orosius, vii. 38, repeats this charge: 'parvi pendens (St.) quod sub imperatore imperabat Eucherium filium suum, sicut a plerisque traditur, in imperium quoquo modo substituere nitebatur.' Jordanes also, 322, 'Eucherium filium suum paganum et Christianis molientem insidias, cupiens Caesarem ordinare.' Philost., xii. 2. Soz., ix. 4, *Chron. Gall.* 'saluti imperatoris tendebat insidias.'

² *Cons. Const.* Excerpta Sangallensia give the date. 'Ticino multi maiores occisi sunt. id. Aug. multi nobilium apud Ticinum interfecti.' Soz., ix. 4.

³ We are reminded of the murder of Rufinus. When the soldiers made no movement after Honorius' speech, Olympius was seen to sign to them and remind them, as it were, 'ὦν ἔτυχεν αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβύστω διαλεχθείς.' There were slain 'πλήθος ὅσον ἀριθμῶ μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι περιλαβεῖν.' The emperor took off his paludamentum and diadem, 'σὺν πολλῇ πόνῳ μόλις οἷός τε γέγονεν τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναστῆλαι μανίαν.' Soz., ix. 4.

Stilicho received news of the mutiny at Bononia, first *The mutiny.* in an exaggerated form, and, anxious for the emperor's safety, took counsel with the barbarian chiefs. They decided that if Honorius had been slain, vengeance should be taken upon the guilty troops: otherwise counsels of mercy should prevail¹. On hearing of Honorius' safety, Stilicho wished to go to Ravenna and to abandon all harsh measures. He wished to make one last effort to recover his ascendancy over the army and the emperor. His barbarian counsellors desired vigorous measures, and their untutored minds could not enter into Stilicho's motives. They resolved to leave him to his fate, and waited till they had clearer information about Honorius' feelings. Sarus², till late the obsequious satellite of Stilicho, seeing no profit in remaining the henchman of a doomed and discredited minister, struck for his own hand. He attacked and cut to pieces Stilicho's Hunnish bodyguard and forced his way to his tent. Stilicho was apparently already on his way, by night, to Ravenna, where, faithful to the last to his policy of leniency, he urged the citizens not

¹ The news 'οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸν ἐτάραξε, καλέσας τε ἅπαντας ὅσοι συνῆσαν αὐτῷ βαρβάρων συμμαχῶν ἡγούμενοι βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου προὔτιθαι. κοινῇ πᾶσι καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει, τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως ἀναιρεθέντος πάντας ὁμοῦ τοὺς συμμαχοῦντας Ῥωμαίοις βαρβάρους κοινῇ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιπεσεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας διὰ τοῦτο καταστῆναι σωφρονεστέρους.' Otherwise only 'τοὺς τῆς στάσεως αἰτίους ὑπαχθῆναι τῇ δίκῃ.' Zosimus, v. 33.

² Zosimus, v. 34, 'ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπορουμένου Στελιχῶνος, οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βάρβαροι τὰ πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐσκεμμένα κρατεῖν ἐθέλοντες ἀφέλκειν μὲν αὐτὸν ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔκρινεν ἐπεχείρουν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐν τισι χωρίοις ἔκριναν ἐπιμεῖναι, μέχρις ἂν ἦν εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ Στελιχῶνος γνώμην σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειε Σάρος δὲ ἀνελεῖν καθεύδοντας ἅπαντας, οἱ Στελιχῶνι προσεδρεύοντες ἔτυχον Οὐννοι καὶ τῆς ἐπομένης αὐτῷ πάσης ἀποσκευῆς γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου σκηνὴν ἐχώρει καθ' ἣν διατρίβων ἀνεσκόπει τὰ συμβησόμενα.' Philost. xii. 1, 'Ὀλύμπιος συνεργὸς αὐτῷ κατέστη πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Στελιχῶνος.'

to admit any barbarian to the city, though the absence of his mercenaries had in reality sealed his doom¹.

*The end of
Stilicho.*

The task of winning Honorius' consent to the destruction of his father-in-law was not altogether easy. Stilicho's ascendancy had been won by great tact and maintained by unusual discretion, nor had the emperor's new-born independence made him resentful. At length he consented to the detention of Stilicho in honourable confinement². The latter thereupon took refuge by night in a church, attended by his retainers. At dawn the soldiers appeared and persuaded Stilicho, in the bishop's presence, to come forth. They swore that their orders were merely to hold him in durance, and not otherwise to injure him. But on his yielding, a second letter was produced, which declared death to be the penalty of his offences against the state³. His barbarian dependents who had rallied round him were eager to rescue him, but, sick at heart, or desirous of preventing futile bloodshed, he checked them by commands and even threats⁴, and quietly yielded himself to the executioner.

The events subsequent to his death may shortly be

¹ Zosimus, 'Στελιχὼν μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ βαρβάρων διαστάντων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥάβενναν ἀπὼν παρηγγύα ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς βαρβάρων ἔτυχον οὔσαι γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες, μηδένα δέχεσθαι βαρβάρων αὐτοῖς προσιόντα.'

² *Ibid.*, 'τῆς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμης ἤδη κύριος, Ὀλύμπιος γεγωνὺς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥαβέννῃ στρατιώταις ἔστειλλε, βασιλικά γράμματα κελεύοντα συλληφθέντα Στελιχῶνα τέως ἐν ἀδέσμῳ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχεισθαι φυλακῇ.'

³ *Ibid.*, 'Στελιχὼν μαθὼν ἐκκλησίαν τινὰ Χριστιανῶν πλησίον οὔσαν νυκτὸς οὔσης ἔτι κατέλαβεν.' His barbarians 'καὶ ἄλλως οἰκείοι τεθραυμένοι μετὰ οἰκετῶν ὀπλισμένοι τὸ ἐσόμενον ἀπεσκόπουν... ὄρκοις πιστωσάμενοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου παρόντος, ὥς οὐκ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ φυλάξαι μόνον ἐτάχθησαν... ἀπεδίδοδο δεύτερα γράμματα τοῦ κεκομικότος, τὰ πρότερα θανάτου τιμώμενα τὰ κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἡμαρτημένα Στελιχῶνι.'

⁴ His companions were 'πλῆθος οὐ μέτριον'... σὺν ἀπειλῇ καὶ φόβῳ ταύτης αὐτοῦς Στελιχῶν ἀποστήσας τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως.' Zosimus gives the date 'for the benefit of the curious,' August 23, 408. So *Cons. Const. and Fast. Vindob.*

reviewed. Olympius, for a season supreme despot, indulged himself in a reign of terror¹. All Stilicho's adherents, and many who were only suspected of this crime, were sought out and brought to judgment before Deuterios, chief of the bedchamber, and Peter, chief of the scribes. One of the principal objects of this trial seems to have been to procure evidence incriminating Stilicho, but this end, according to Zosimus, was not attained. However, the testimony of Olympius ensured their death by beating. Torture was employed, but without avail to obtain evidence².

Thermantia, the imperial consort, was sent back to her mother. The persons appointed to guard Eucherius fled, immediately after his father's death, to Rome with him, but they were traced and followed. Respect for the sanctuary checked for a while his pursuers³. As regards the barbarians generally, Honorius the Unready adopted a policy similar to that of his English resembler, and massacred such women and children of the

¹ Sarus was rewarded by the command against Constantine, where he again indulged his perfidious inclinations. Zosimus, v. 35, 'τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἅπαντα κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίου διετίθετο βούλησιν καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν παρελάμβανε τὰς δι' ἄλλας διένειμε ὁ βασιλεὺς οἷς Ὀλύμπιος ἐμαρτύρει. παντάχοθεν δὲ τῶν Στελιχῶνος οἰκείων ἢ ἄλλων τὰ τούτου φρονεῖν δοκούντων διερευνωμένων, εἰς κρίσιν ἤγοντο Δευτέριος ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος προεστώς, καὶ Πέτρος ὁ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ὑπογραφέων ἡγούμενος.' Cf. *Codex*, ix. 42, 20, 22, for confiscations.

² 'δημοσίαν ὑποστάντες ἐξέτασιν ἠναγκάζοντο τὰ περὶ Στελιχῶνος λέγειν ὥς δὲ οὔτε καθ' ἑαυτῶν, οὔτε κατ' ἐκείνου διδάσκειν εἶχον, ἁμαρτῶν τῆς σπουδῆς, Ὀλύμπιος ῥοπάλοις παλεσθαι αὐτοὺς παρεσκεύαζεν ἄχρι θανάτου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ὥς τι συνεπισταμένων Στελιχῶνι πρὸς δίκην ἀχθέντων εἰπεῖν τι μετὰ βασάνων ἀναγκασθέντων εἰ τινα τούτου συνίσασι βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἔφη τι τοιοῦτον εἶδέναι, τῆς μὲν τσαύτης ἐγγεήρσεως οἱ ταῦτα πολυπραγμονοῦντες ἀπέστησαν.'

³ Zosimus, v. 35. He took refuge in a church, 'διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου τιμὴν εἶσαν.' Also v. 37. Philost., xii. 3, is confused. He makes Eucherius' capture and death, and Alaric's attack follow in immediate succession.

barbarians as he could reach. Their outraged relations, who numbered 30,000 men, resolved in revenge to join Alaric¹.

*Extinction
of his
family.*

The reign of Olympius did not endure long. He fell out of favour, was banished, and though he returned again he never recovered his power². Alaric still threatened, and when his demands, which no doubt to him seemed extremely reasonable, were obstinately rejected by Honorius and his advisers, he advanced and besieged Rome. On his approach, Serena was executed in a vain attempt to check his irresistible advance³. Strangely enough the murder of a defenceless woman had no deterrent effect. Bathanarius, count of Africa, who had married Stilicho's sister, was slain by Heraclian, his successor. So passed away the power of Stilicho and his house, an event which besides these personal consequences involved the fall of Rome.

*Historical
importance
of Stili-
cho's 'last
phase.'*

The last episodes in the career of Stilicho, as Zosimus narrates them, tragic and profoundly interest-

¹ Zosimus ascribes all this to a divine infatuation. 'ὅπερ ἀκηκόοτες καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐς ταῦτὰ συνελθόντες σχετλιάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πίστεως ἀσεβείᾳ πάντες ἐγνώσαν Ἀλαρίχῳ προσθέσθαι.' These massacres took place at various cities. Orosius, from another point of view, minimises this: 'paucique cum isdem satellitibus tantarum molitionum puniti sunt; ita minimo negotio paucorumque poena ecclesiae Christi cum imperatore religioso et liberatae sunt et vindicatae.' Perhaps these massacres were due to the soldiers rather than to Honorius.

² 'Ὀλύμπιος ἐπιβουλεύσας Στελιχῶνι μάγιστρος τῶν ὀφικίων γέγονεν. εἶτα ἐξέπεσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς.' Olympiodorus, frag. 8, and Zosimus, v. 35. Philost. xii. 1.

Olymp., frag. 8, describes his fate. 'εἶτα πάλιν ἐπέβη ταύτης, ἔπειτα ἐξέπεσεν. εἶτα ἐκπεσὼν ῥοπάλοις ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου, ὃς ἠγάγετο Πλακιδίαν παιδόμενος ἀναιρεῖται.'

³ Zosimus, v. 37. The senate considered her responsible for all their calamities. Zosimus considers the suspicion baseless. His explanation is cut-and-dried. She had offended Juno. Olymp. frag. 6.

ing as they are from the merely picturesque point of view, should not be disdainfully passed over by the austere superior historian, as simply of biographical interest. Stilicho was two persons at once, and by this duality typifies unusually well the opposing tendencies of the age. A consideration of the causes of his downfall will therefore cast considerable light upon the causes of the collapse of the Western Empire. The fulness of Zosimus' account leads us to infer that Olympiodorus¹ was attracted by the character of Stilicho, and narrated in greater detail the events which led to the tragic *dénoûment*. We shall assume the accuracy of the account, in the absence of any reasonable motive for doubting its credibility.

Some of the causes of Stilicho's decline have already been suggested. Stilicho was a veteran in his twenty-third campaign². Few men, one would imagine, have lived their life under more strenuous and exacting conditions than he. Bitter foes without, whose recurrent attacks must be continually repelled at a great expenditure of energy; at home subtle intrigues ever sapping his influence, a monarch whose humours must be observed and managed from day to day, the whole machinery of government, which no contemporary revealed any capacity for handling—such a remorseless mass of duties might wear out the strongest intellect and the hardiest frame. It is therefore not surprising that Stilicho was unequal, in the absence of efficient subordinates, to govern the West single-handed, and succumbed before that Titanic task. Beneath that

¹ His history begins with Honorius' seventh consulship (407 A.D.). *Phot. Cod.* 80, p. 177.

² Zosimus, v. 34, 'τρεῖς πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι ἐνιαυτοῦς ἐστρατηγηκώς.'

burden he sank, as Napoleon sank. The invasion of Alaric, and the hurricane-like onset of Rhadagaisus were brilliantly overcome, but the strain was unbearable. The Vandals wrought their will unheeded, perhaps their victorious inrush could have been stayed by no effort. At any rate that effort was not made. Stilicho at length confessed himself overcome, vanquished and exhausted by the relentlessness of Fate. Obsessed by one idea, he still in his infatuation dreamt of an undivided empire, but Alaric, a two-edged tool, was to be his instrument. The West unaided was unequal even to its own defence, and the necessity of working hand in hand with Alaric, imposed upon him a dubious, wavering, policy, which led straight to his downfall. Stilicho was the victim of the dulness of the plain man. The average Roman found Stilicho's subtle, involved policy above his comprehension. The Roman senator was mystified by his policy¹, the Roman soldier, no dealer in fine-drawn distinctions, seeing the foe of five years since approaching Italy in the guise of an ally, concluded that his general had treasonable thoughts². Such a crisis would have called for all

¹ Zosimus, v. 22, the debate in the senate.

² Opinion is almost unanimous. Philost., xii. 1, calls him 'τυραννίδος ἑνοχον.' Sozomenos, ix. 4, 'φήμης διαδραμούσης ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα τοῦ υἱέως παρασκευάζεται.' *Codex*, ix. 42, 22. He used money 'ad ditandam inquietandamque barbariem.' Jerome speaks of the 'scelus semibarbari proditoris.' *Ep.* 123. Orosius, vii. 38, 'commoto iustissime exercitu occisus est.' Marcell., 'Stilicho comes cuius duae filiae Maria et Thermantia singulae uxores Honori principis fuere, utraque tamen virgo defuncta. (Incorrect.) spreto Honorio regnumque eius inhians...cum Eucherio dolo suo detecto occisus est.' Philost., 'τὰς τῶν Ἀλπέων πύλας διήνοιξε καὶ γὰρ Στελιχώνα ἐπιβουλὰς πάσας παλαμᾶσθαι καὶ μὴδ' ὅτι γαμβρὸν αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ.' 'ut unum puerum purpura indueret totius generis humani sanguinem dedit.' Alaric was said afterwards to have advanced owing to Stilicho's death. Olymp. frag. 8.

Stilicho's energy, even at his prime, and for that unsurpassed power of dealing with men, whether with the emperor on his throne, or with the humblest legionary. He quelled the soldier's mutiny in its incipient stage¹. But the spell was broken when the magician was absent, nor could it be effective twice. Stilicho, the dupe of his own misguided, lenient policy, in itself perhaps a mark of infirmity of purpose, died a lamb-like death, yielding himself tamely to the executioner, and forbidding friends who would have hazarded their lives for him, to raise a finger in his behalf. Nor did the bitterness of hatred abate with his death. It was augmented by later events and especially by the capture of Rome. Six years later, Rutilius Namatianus, in an account of a peaceful sea trip to Gaul, blazes out suddenly in savage denunciation of that grievous crime of dire Stilicho, who in his madness mingled highest with the lowest, and sheathed the foeman's sword in his country's vitals, in his savage desire to precipitate the course of Destiny. He, a mortal, has laid low the immortal mother². And

¹ Zosimus, v. 31.

² II. 41 :

‘quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum
proditor...quod fuit imperii.

Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes
crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.

dumque timet quidquid se fecerat ipse timeri
immisit Latiae barbara tela neci.

visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem
illatae cladis liberiore dolo.

ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat
et captiva prius quam caperetur erat.’

Rutilius' invective, like that of all satirists, is somewhat indiscriminate. Besides betraying Rome, Stilicho burnt the Sibylline books, ‘viresque acquirit eundo.’

‘omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis,
consumat Stygias tristior umbra faces.

hic immortalem mortalem perculit ille :
hic mundi matrem perculit ille suam.’

the invective of the Christian apologist burns with as implacable a rancour. The evil that Stilicho did lived after him, the good perished even before him. Few of the later Western writers, who could scarcely view the overthrow of Rome with calm feelings, speak favourably of Stilicho¹. He paid the penalty of excessive subtlety, and only German scholars of even greater subtlety, not Romans living amid the ruins of a fallen empire, have been able to appreciate and even to idolise him as a single-minded, devoted patriot. Stilicho sowed the wind and has reaped the whirlwind.

His wife.

His dubious policy was then the great and broad cause of his downfall, but there were other reasons, more trivial, yet in their sphere important. Stilicho, like Marlborough, found that it was easier to be a hero than a husband, to govern an empire than to rule a household. The portrait of Serena has unfortunately not been painted for us, but it seems possible to distinguish the broad outlines of her character from the hints which have been given us.

She was the adopted daughter of Theodosius, and his favourite². This preeminent position fostered her innate imperiousness. She was attracted, no doubt, by the brilliant qualities, physical and intellectual, of the

¹ Cf. Augustine, v. 23, Orosius and the Chroniclers.

² *Laus Serenae*, 39:

‘patruo te principe celsam
bellipotens inlustrat avus, qui signa Britanno
intulit Oceano Gaetulaque reppulit arma.’

Claudian’s panegyric is tedious and artificial, evidently made to order.

‘dic mihi, Calliope, tanto cur tempore differs
Pierio meritam serto redimire Serenam?’

The wilderness blossoms as a rose and various other prodigies happen at her birth. 70, 96.

youthful Stilicho¹, but she did not forget the daughter of Theodosius in the wife of Stilicho. She forwarded all Stilicho's plans for his advancement with unswerving devotion², but her conception of wifely duty did not involve blind obedience. Stilicho was an upstart compared with the house of Theodosius, and she had no intention of overthrowing his dynasty to make Stilicho emperor. She claimed for herself (or her admirers awarded her the title) the appellation *Diva*³, and she appears from time to time as the ruling court influence, even to the extent of thwarting her husband. The poems of Claudian suggest such a character, and other authorities confirm it. She, who in her girlhood had exercised a unique influence over Theodosius, enjoyed a still stronger power over his son, and played the congenial feminine part of matchmaker. After Maria's death she had overruled Stilicho's ob-

¹ Claudian makes her something of a blue-stocking :

'Pierius labor et veterum tibi carmina vatum
ludus erat....iam nubilis aetas
principe sollicito votis erexerat aulam
incertis quem tanta tori fortuna maneret...
iudice dignus

Augusto variis Stilicho spectatus in armis
accipit et regni dotes virtute paravit....
solus militiae mira mercede iugalem
promeruit Stilicho socero referente coronam.'

Laus Serenae, 146-185.

² *Ibid.* 212 :

'quis tibi tunc per membra tremor quantaeque cadebant
ubertim lacrimae...nec deside cura
segnis marcet amor : laudem prudentia belli
feminea pro parte subit. dum gentibus ille
confligit, vigili tu prospicis omnia sensu,
ne quid in absentem virtutibus obvia semper
audeat invidiae rabies neu fervor iniquus...
tu motus rimata latentes
mandatis tremebunda virum scriptisque monebas.'

³ *Epist.* 43, Claudian :

'suffecit mandasse deam.'

jections to Honorius' union with Thermantia, being anxious for an imperial heir¹. The instinct of race seems to have been stronger than the instinct of maternity, and the house of Theodosius was more to her than a possible Stilichonian dynasty. Her husband's plan to carve an appanage for Eucherius out of the Eastern empire seems to have been viewed by her with coldness, if not with actual hostility. It was her letter dictated to Honorius which recalled Stilicho from executing that design in concert with Alaric. Her relations with her husband may have been complicated by religious disagreements. If we had a full court history of the reign, probably Serena would play a far more important part in the history of the time than she does. But her influence had its limitations. She excelled in the feminine arts of persuasion and intrigue, but we are not justified in crediting her with the more masculine qualities of the statesman. She was soon to learn that in a crisis the protection of Honorius availed more than the defence of Stilicho. Ironically enough, as his wife, she suffered through the hatred of a policy to which in all probability she had always been strongly opposed².

*Stilicho's
loyalty.*

The question of Stilicho's loyalty and patriotism is inextricably bound up with that of his policy. In discussing this one must always remember that Stilicho himself was only half a Roman³, and that his conception of loyalty and that of the true Roman must have been

¹ Zosimus, v. 28, 'εικότως βασιλείου γονῆς ἐπιθυμοῦσα, δέει τοῦ μὴ τὴν τοσαύτην αὐτῇ δυναστείαν ἐλαττωθῆναι, τῇ δευτέρᾳ θυγατρὶ συνάψαι τὸν Ὀνώριον ἔσπευδεν. οὐ δὲ γενομένου τελευτᾷ ἡ κόρη, μετ' οὐ πολὺ ταῦτ' αὖτε προτέρᾳ παθοῦσα.'

² Olymp. frag. 6. She was strangled, 'αἰτία νομισθεῖσα τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἐφόδου Ἀλαρίχου.'

³ Jerome calls him, *cp.* 123, 'semibarbarus.'

different things. By those who shared the old exclusive spirit and believed in the immortality of the empire, any *rapprochement* with barbarians was repudiated with scorn and horror. But those who with a deeper insight saw that the old Rome was dead and buried, and that a new state must rise phoenix-like from her ashes, were for the incorporation of new elements in the Roman body politic. A fresh infusion of energy was needed. The army which bore the name of Rome, and its generals, were almost entirely of barbarian origin. Stilicho himself was a symbol of the new era. He was only carrying the policy of Theodosius a further step by employing Alaric to further his ends, and by giving him some recognised position within the bounds of the empire. He failed in his attempt to engraft upon the old stock. Neither the senate, nor the emperor, could read the signs of the times. Stilicho was to them necessarily a semi-barbarian, and a recreant who, desiring to survive his son-in-law, had been guilty of parricide. Any Roman with a free choice would have ranged himself with Lampadius against Stilicho. Stilicho's loyalty was undoubtedly of a peculiar kind. With those who believe that heroes are cast in a superior mould, and, if not exempt from human infirmity, at any rate not liable to punishment for their failings, Stilicho's subordination of means to end will find approval. But to his conception of loyalty it was necessary that he should be in a dominant position. He was loyal to Honorius, he had no wish to dethrone him, for the latter, as Claudian reminds us *ad nauseam*, was his son-in-law, and generally the most tractable of monarchs. Toward Arcadius, Honorius' senior by some years, his feelings seem to have been

very different. He considered the Eastern policy to have absolved him from all obligations of loyalty, and did not scruple to indulge in plans of personal aggrandisement to its harm. He closed his ports against Eastern trade¹. Stilicho's moderation in regard to Eucherius, which Zosimus emphasises², cannot be accepted without question. Eucherius was young³, and Stilicho, who himself disclaimed consulships⁴, may not have cared to bestow them upon his son⁵. It is not unlikely that he had the usual impulse of a successful general to found a dynasty, and this

¹ Cf. Rosenstein, p. 206. But one can scarcely say that his desire for power was an unselfish ambition. Rosenstein says that even if this was treason it does not affect the greatness of the man.

² *Codex* vii. 161. Dec. 10, 408, 'hostis publicus Stilicho novum atque insolitum reppererat ut litora et portus crebris vallaret excubiis, ne cuiquam ex Oriente ad hanc imperii partem pateret accessus. huius iniquitate rei moti et ne rarior sit diversarum mercium com meatus praecipimus hac sanctione ut litorum desistat et portuum perniciose custodia et eundi ac redeundi libera sit facultas.' Perhaps Stilicho wished to prevent any communication between the two brothers or the two courts.

³ v. 34. He only made him a 'notarius.' Others dissent. Philost. xii. 2, 'ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα ἐάντων ἐν τῷ σπουδάσει τὸν υἱὸν Εὐχέριον ἀνακηρύξειν παρανόμως βασιλέα. οὕτω δὲ κατὰ φῶρον καὶ ἀδέα τὴν τυραννίδα προσενεγκεῖν τὸν Στελιχῶνα λέγει, ὡς καὶ νόμισμα μορφῆς λειπούσης μόνης κόψασθαι.' Sozomenos, viii. 25, 'eis ἐχθραν καταστὰς τοῖς Ἀρκαδίου ἄρχουσιν,' more correctly speaks of his enmity with *Arcadius*. Professor Bury accepts this, *L. R. E.* 113. Socrates, ix. 4. He was suspected of this 'σπουδάων ἀναγορεῦσαι βασιλέα κατὰ τὴν "Εω.' Orosius, vii. 38, 'Eucherium in imperium quoquo modo substituere nitebatur.' Marcell. Stilicho wished 'Eucherium Caesarem ordinare.' Eucherius is said to have had strong pagan sympathies. This may, however, be mere rumour. Orosius, 'Eucherium, sicut a plerisque traditur, iam inde Christianorum persecutionem a puero privatoque meditantem.' Marcell., 'paganum et adversus Christianos insidias molientem.' Orosius says again, 'ad conciliandum sibi favorem paganorum restitutione templorum et eversione ecclesiarum inbuturum se regni primordia minabatur.'

⁴ He is attended by eunuchs who seem to act as governors. Zosimus, v. 37. He was at Picenum when Alaric entered Italy and was carried to Rome by the eunuchs. There he perished by Honorius' order.

⁵ Claudian, *De cons. Stil.* ii. 219 sq.

may explain his resistance to the re-marriage of Honorius¹.

The corrective of Stilicho's vast ambitions was his moderation and tactfulness. The dialogue between Honorius and Stilicho on the question whether the former should leave Rome and set out to Byzantium is very instructive. He is too adroit and conciliatory ever to be so rude as to gainsay his sovereign. But he suggests with fluent urbanity a series of difficulties which beset the traveller's path². In the first case the royal will asserted its preeminence over all vulgar questions of expediency and convenience, but in the other matter Stilicho gained his last victory. We shall not be wrong in inferring from this single instance that this was the usual method, not a direct negative, but dubious hints and difficulties, till his opponents were won both by the conciliatory tone of the adviser and his apparent friendliness, and followed the line he had with such address suggested. By these means Stilicho had acquired his ascendancy over Theodosius, Honorius and the imperial court, 'fortis in re, suavis in modo.'

The episode illustrates also the power of the hereditary principle. Even in the second generation the house of Theodosius is unassailable. This, perhaps the strongest testimony to the greatness of Theodosius, is shewn by the fact that, throughout all the troubles of the time, the army never proposed to dethrone the weakling, whose only title to rule was

¹ Philost. xii. 2, accuses him of drugging Honorius. But this is generally attributed to Serena.

² He preferred to

'Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
Just hint a fault and hesitate dislike.'

his paternity, and loyal to his sire, endured his narrow wilfulness and obstinacy. Honorius seems indeed in this last year to take some interest in affairs, however unseasonable his intervention, and to have grown tired of a regency. His devoutness seems to have been attracted rather by the superficial piety of Olympius¹, than by the latitudinarianism of Stilicho. Yet perhaps only the dread of military violence persuaded him to consent to Stilicho's destruction.

*The Senate
revived.*

One important feature of Stilicho's rule is that once more an attempt was made to enlist the Senate's aid in the task of government. In the moments before the Gildonic War, we hear of a debate in the Senate, in obedience to an imperial epistle², on the question of the hour. We must not imagine that the Senate again became a powerful factor in the management of affairs, but it seems certain that in crises Stilicho sought their sympathy and support. His frankness in acceding to the request for an explanation of his policy towards Alaric proves that he regarded the end as important. But the Senate was the last place in which an insight into the present needs and condition of the empire might have been found. Granting the need of Stilicho's policy, no body would ever be so self-sacrificing as to sign its own death-warrant, for the new policy involved a new polity. A Romano-Gothic state was to be substituted for the empire of the Caesars, the Rome of the Middle Ages was to succeed the Rome of Romulus.

¹ The series of edicts restricting toleration in religious matters would seem to be a sign of his waning influence. At any rate they are inconsistent with his early acts.

² Symmachus, *ep.* iv. 4. After Stilicho's death we hear again of their deliberations. Perhaps the weakness of the emperor enabled them to maintain their position.

Stilicho's aspirations, however laudable, were doomed to be frustrated.

The fall of Stilicho is a sign of the rottenness of the imperial structure. So perfect has the autocracy become, that its levelling power has made a hero only the equal of a eunuch. It is not altogether fanciful to compare the deaths of Eutropius and Stilicho. Both, when their policy had failed, were sacrificed by their masters to military violence. Both met their death through an *exigua charta*, through the instrumentality of men whose greatest achievement was to destroy the author of their advancement¹. Both yielded weakly, if not pusillanimously, to the crisis, though even at its worst there is an element of magnanimity in Stilicho's action, and both sought refuge in a Christian sanctuary. But Eutropius was happier in finding an eloquent champion who secured him a temporary reprieve. Stilicho had only a mute and inglorious Chrysostom, who was content to be a spectator², and apparently raised no protest against the profanation of the temple by the bloody deed. Stilicho, whatever his faults, had devoted a long and laborious career³ to the service of Theodosius and his son, he had been the bulwark of the West, and through many a stormy crisis had averted every danger. Gaul, Africa, Noricum, Gildo, Alaric and Rhadagaisus, could all bear witness to his transcendent gifts, yet to the last he remained an alien with an

*Stilicho's
fall a sign
of the
times.*

¹ 'solumque hoc rite peregit
auctorem damnare suum.'

In Eutr. i. 169.

² Zosimus, v. 34, 'τοῦ ἐπισκόπου παρόντος.'

³ Olymp. frag. 2, 'ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤρθη δυνάμει καὶ πολλοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν κατάρθωσε.' Soz. viii. 25, 'ἀνὴρ εἰπερ τις πώποτε ἐν πολλῇ δυνάμει γεγεννημένος, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ βαρβάρων τοὺς νέους πειθομένους ἔχων.'

alien's policy, weak even at the zenith of his power, and the advocate of a policy whose accomplishment could be left to Time's sure hands, but which perished for the while in universal detestation. The weapons of intrigue were stronger than the claims of merit or the exploits of the sword. The spectacle of fallen greatness has always its poignant circumstances, but Stilicho perished, not nobly in the prosecution of some great cause, but ignominiously and with insignificance, after a series of baffling manœuvres, the victim of the machinations of an odious camarilla. When Rome rewarded her greatest men with the most infamous of ends, when it failed to understand the only man capable of guiding the ship of state through the perilous currents, with such opponents as the Goths, and such a leader as Alaric, the end was certain. For thirteen years Stilicho ruled the West. Yet those years cannot with perfect appropriateness be called the Age of Stilicho, nor is Claudian's eulogy upon him, that in him the old Roman spirit once again was incarnated, the whole truth¹. Stilicho was the last of the Romans, but he was also the first man of the new era. Hence his greatness, and hence his catastrophe. He was the first to fall in the final struggle between Goth and Roman, yet, as with the Athenian king of mythology, that cause and those tendencies which, groping dimly in the dark, he sought to further, were destined to advance to a final triumph.

¹ *De Bell. Get.* 374 :

‘inque uno princeps Latiumque et tota refulsit
Roma viro.’

APPENDIX I.

SOME ACCOUNT OF SPECIAL TRACTS CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT.

VOGT, *The credibility of Claudian considered*. The poet wrote, Vogt considers, with sincerity ; his sense of right and his judgments are honest, but yet there are gross exaggerations due to the meanness and mediocrity of many of his themes. Claudian could not do damage to the outer framework of truth. His hearers could refute him. He could give a colouring to events, yet beneath the heap of images and lavish epigram we can detect by careful examination the truth. In other cases the method of the poet differs from that of the historian. He can ignore less glittering achievements or make excuses, accelerate his narrative or cut it short. We may assume too that Claudian did not praise a man for virtues which he lacked entirely ; that would degenerate into a satire ; if Stilicho had the faults which Eunapius asserts, Claudian would not have ventured to contrast him with his contemporaries.

Other sources are compared. Eunapius had not full information from the East, as a fragment of his shews, and therefore his invective against Stilicho is less formidable. Human nature has a tendency to involve in one general censure men who have some external resemblance. So Eunapius has done ; Zosimus has two judgments, one from

Eunapius, and one from Olympiodorus. The latter is more favourable to Stilicho and is a good witness. Orosius was hostile, but Olympius, Stilicho's enemy, was a friend of Augustine. Rutilius the poet attacks Stilicho violently for betraying Italy to the barbarians. He wrote when the fall of Rome was still recent. Stilicho was too prudent and cautious for the old Roman party, who raised, as such parties often do, the cry of treason. In all the charges brought against Stilicho no instances are given, though this is the case with Rufinus and Eutropius. The slaughter of Mascezel is only mentioned by Zosimus. (But Orosius seems to confirm him.) The circumstantial account is of no value.

Stilicho's administration was good though he had little time for internal reforms. In ecclesiastical matters he kept a just mean, neither oppressing nor pampering the church. As regards the barbarians Stilicho adopted Theodosius' views, seeing that Rome needed them.

Alaric's escape in 396 A.D. was due to his own ability. It is foolish to condemn Stilicho for removing the guards from Germany. Alaric did not join Rhadagaisus owing to Stilicho's moderation. Illyricum was given to Alaric because Stilicho wished to gain Alaric as a supporter, not through desire of ambition or revenge ; that is purposeless and almost absurd. Stilicho perished finally by reason of his loyal and salutary plans. Claudian's sketch of Alaric was totally unhistorical. It is not likely that there were dissensions amongst the Goths, nor was Alaric's expedition hazardous to Rome.

Claudian should not be discredited because of his bombastic praise of Honorius. The praise of Honorius is the praise of Stilicho, and finally develops into that as a rule. Honorius' chief merit is that Stilicho was his father-in-law. His outward appearance is praised more than anything.

Rufinus is defended by none, a strange circumstance, yet Ambrose speaks of him as a friend, *ep.* 50. All things seem to justify Claudian's judgment. Rufinus is always represented as terrible, Eutropius rather as ridiculous. Gibbon is right in putting the siege of Honorius at Asta (but Milan should be accepted rather).

Vogt therefore is favourable to Stilicho and to his champion Claudian. He refuses always to see any faults in Stilicho's action, and therefore generally accepts Claudian's statements against those of other authorities.

Schulz omits in his study of Stilicho his career before the death of Theodosius, and starts with 395 A.D. He thinks that Claudian's historical credibility may remain intact, if his exaggerations and poetic ornament are taken in the proper sense. Stilicho shewed his loyalty at once by giving the East its share of Theodosius' effects, and by attacking the Goths. Rufinus must be condemned. The censure may be exaggerated, but is not baseless. Zosimus agrees with Claudian in many places. Alaric did not revolt because he had received no honours from Rome; Socrates rightly says that he had then received many distinctions. He points out that Claudian did not expressly say that Rufinus incited the Goths to revolt, but that he opened a way to the barbarians. The account of Alaric's incursion into Greece, though Claudian gives us much material, is not detailed enough. It is to be doubted whether Rufinus went into the Gothic camp. Stilicho by his moderation refutes the charges that he sought civil war for his own advantage. Claudian rejoiced at Rufinus' death because he was a traitor. Zosimus' narrative of Stilicho's behaviour in the Peloponnese is not to be trusted. He is confused. It is incredible that Stilicho, the most able captain of the age, was guilty of such carelessness as to let Alaric escape in the way mentioned. The Eastern Court must certainly have intervened to the harm of

the empire and to the regret of Stilicho. A treaty was concluded between the three powers which Alaric violated.

Stilicho, in Schulz's opinion, gave the senate a large share of the administration, both executive and judicial, which continued till 408. This is rather a large assumption to make out of Claudian's lines, which need not be taken too seriously.

The account of Mascezel's death is to be rejected. Orosius is ignorant of the story ; he speaks of it at length, but unintelligibly. (His account is quite credible and supports Zosimus.)

Alaric abused his position in Epirus, and adopts a plan of seizing territory in Italy or Gaul, without treaty obligations. Much is uncertain, for Claudian is often so obscure that one needs a diviner's power to interpret his language. He entered Italy near Aquileia by the Timavus, and besieged Aquileia after a Gothic victory. Claudian knows nothing of Rhadagaisus. The battle of Pollentia was on Easter Day, 403. It was a great victory, otherwise the lines of Claudian on the subject would be too impudent. Alaric afterwards made straight for Rome, but received his family on condition that he left Italy immediately. Alaric later attempted to take Verona but lost his spoil, and surrendered, at which point Claudian suddenly breaks off. Alaric is found soon after to be in Illyricum.

There is a *Mantissa* on the sources. A close and penetrating judgment is needed, for in the remains of this age many conflicting tendencies in literature are revealed : Claudian like Olympiodorus was careless in the observance of forms, but extolled everything ancient. Claudian has led many to complain of the need of the historian to follow the account of a client of Stilicho. But he could not have chosen a mean and unworthy subject for so fertile a Muse. Claudian is always a poet, but poetic licence is not the same thing as historical exaggeration. The nucleus of truth

remains at any rate, and he is confirmed by other authorities. If we reduce him to prose we shall have his history correct and untainted. It is not difficult, putting aside loftiness of speech, to construct history out of his poetry, but, Schulz adds inconsistently, the task needs great subtlety and imagination.

Schulz is thus a most staunch supporter of Stilicho and of Claudian. He claims that Claudian is absolutely faithful to history, and has simply put history into verse. No one certainly can have a higher faith in Claudian than he has.

Vogt devotes his enquiry into the facts of the Gildonic War to two points, the size of the army and the death of Mascezel. There are two accounts of the war given by Claudian, and the latter is the cooler and more temperate of the two. Claudian is essentially a 'Tendency' poet in panegyric as in satire, and in the second account intentionally weakens the significance of the war, in spite of that making the account more prosaic. As he must make Stilicho the chief figure, he praises his vigilance, and his influence on the court, Mascezel being ignored. Orosius' account of the numbers is as untrustworthy as his estimates generally are, though he was a local historian.

Circumstances greatly favoured Gildo, as Vogt well points out. Stilicho had at once three different enemies to confront, and hence his great preparations. The force that Claudian and Orosius suggest is too small; there must have been at least 15,000.

As regards Mascezel, naturally Stilicho got the lion's share of the honours. Such a course was usual. But there was no rivalry. Stilicho was firmly entrenched in the popular favour. The writers of this age delight to seek hidden traces of criminal instincts. They, with a wanton eagerness, seek for low motives, and narrate them with gusto. They revel with the pleasure of a morally enervated age in

exposing to view the dark side of human nature. Anyhow if Mascezel died, Stilicho would be suspected. But his assassination would have been unspeakably foolish for Stilicho, who might at least have secured his end under a show of legality. Orosius' silence speaks against it, and the story was not accepted even in the West by his bitterest foes.

Vogt thus will not believe anything to Stilicho's discredit, and certainly puts the case against the Eastern historians as strongly as it can be put. But he seems to make too much of what he not altogether rightly calls Orosius' silence. His conclusions as to the size of the expedition and examination of the situation at the time seem highly trustworthy.

Keller refuses to trust Claudian unconditionally. He does not distort facts but embellishes them in honour of his hero. But Keller seems to trust him more than the other authorities. Zosimus' whole work is a confused reproduction of the different sources, and his value varies according to his different authorities. Orosius too, through his hatred of paganism, has so perverted facts that his account is of no significance.

Keller's account of Stilicho is divided into four parts. The first treats of his career until the death of Theodosius. The second from that date until the first invasion of Alaric. Stilicho was now raised to a position of great influence. He discusses the relations of Stilicho with Arcadius and Honorius. Stilicho was not in a juristic sense the guardian of the two emperors. Stilicho published the statement that he was made guardian, perhaps to keep the kingdoms still united, or as a weapon against Rufinus. Stilicho was not a Wallenstein, and his whole career until 408 A.D. should be considered before forming a judgment. He had a double mission, to unite East and West without removing either son of Theodosius; to impart fresh vigour to the empire, and to weld together Rome and the barbarians.

From this double policy came his fall. His policy was not unnaturally misunderstood. In the West there was strong opposition to dealings with the barbarians, and the antipathy between Roman and German caused his shipwreck.

Keller does not believe that Rufinus invited the Goths to invade the empire. This could only endanger his position the more. It is erroneous to think that Alaric besieged Constantinople, though Claudian has often misled people. He does not speak of an investment. Rufinus' murder was designed by Stilicho, and so he readily obeyed the order to leave Greece and send back the legions. He does not accept the view of Jeep that the second Grecian campaign was in 395. Orosius' statement as to Alaric's escape must be accepted, though this writer must be used with the greatest care in all things relating to Stilicho.

Alaric gained his end and settled in Illyricum. Stilicho's plans were shattered, and the cleft between West and East became greater, though Stilicho wished to preserve the semblance of fidelity to Theodosius' sons, but later he resolved on force and to use Alaric.

Alaric did not desire the union of East and West, and took measures to prevent it. He was wedged between the two parts of the empire, and invaded Italy not to conquer it but to gain independence. There is no trace of an understanding between Alaric and the tribes of Rhaetia who rose then. The invasion took place in the winter of 401 A.D. Honorius was besieged at Milan the year after Alaric's entry. He is relieved by Stilicho; Alaric retreats and is conquered at Asta. Then followed the battle of Pollentia, a victory, though not a signal victory, for Rome. Alaric's retreat was permitted, but as he did not fulfil the conditions of the pact, Stilicho attacked him, and reduced him to straits. Again Alaric is permitted to retire to Illyricum, for Stilicho's own purposes.

It was now that Stilicho's policy really developed itself,

but it was not to be successful. Honorius and Serena lost their heads and thwarted his plans, and events in Gaul, Britain and Spain hindered his success.

Keller then examines most thoroughly and closely Stilicho's policy. His treatment is certainly very able and suggestive, and is no doubt accurate in many things. He is too lenient to Stilicho, however, and extenuates proceedings which are very difficult of justification. His dealings with Alaric were so complicated that even if one admits the rightness of his aims, the distrust of the ordinary Roman was thoroughly deserved. His defence of Rome was almost as dangerous as open hostility.

Birt in *De fide Christiana*, decides that Claudian, like Stilicho, professed Christianity of a very nominal kind.

In *Two Political Satires*, a contribution to the *History of Satire*, Birt examines the two poems *In Rufinum* and *In Eutropium*, and compares Claudian with Juvenal and Lucilius. He finds strong resemblances to the latter in Claudian.

Koch in the *Rheinisches Museum*, XLIV. p. 587, adduces arguments to prove that Jeep is wrong in assigning the poem on the fourth consulate of Honorius to 396 A.D. He also discusses the Gildonic War, and dates the marriage of Honorius to spring by means of some allusions in the *Fescennines* and also by reference to other passages. Orosius' account of the war seems to him fantastic, and he justly says that often in these years we must be content with a 'non liquet.'

Rosenstein believes that both Alaric and Stilicho strove to give the relations between Rome and the barbarians an adequate and lasting form, the one for his own people, which thus gained a national and independent existence, the other for the Roman world, which he desired to strengthen and invigorate by an understanding.

Alaric's elevation to the kingship was the result of

Theodosius' death. His aim was to secure a '*quieta patria*' for his people. Rufinus, in order to prolong his political existence, incited the barbarians to revolt. But as regards this we must be very cautious in our judgment. Claudian has a boundless admiration for Stilicho, and passes over facts or colours them. He does not invent events, however. Claudian alone mentions the incident before Constantinople. This must have been merely a hasty raid, as the chroniclers omit it. Zosimus' account, that Stilicho incited Gainas to murder Rufinus, seems true. Stilicho wanted the East, and this is a key to his later acts.

In this period then Stilicho avoids open force, which at that time would involve the empire in great peril. He was not actuated merely by personal ambition.

For Alaric's campaign in Greece we have only Zosimus. There is no cogent reason to force us to believe that Athens was taken by storm. Alaric did not desire a long siege and gave favourable terms, but he must have required more than a bath and a banquet. We cannot tell how Alaric escaped from Stilicho, owing to Claudian's reticence. Stilicho probably hoped to use Alaric as a weapon against the East. The second expedition to Greece was in the beginning of 396 A.D. and Zosimus' chronology is impossible.

Illyricum, which Alaric now held, had been divided between East and West. Both courts desired to gain Illyricum in its entirety, and Alaric seemed a weapon to both, as he had a favourable position on the frontier. Alaric was in the Roman service, as Claudian shews, and probably had the title of '*dux*.' He did not lose sight of his aims but organised his people and played off the East against the West.

In 400 A.D. he went to the West. The East was already flooded by other nations, and its provinces had been plundered too much. Claudian, our authority, gives no connected story of events, but everything is grouped around

Stilicho. The time was well chosen, as the Romans were occupied in Rhaetia and Noricum. Alaric probably spent most of 401 A.D. in Venetia. The emperor was besieged, probably at Milan, for the *Codex* shews that he spent most of 401 A.D. there; Stilicho returns in the winter or in 402 A.D. Alaric withdraws to Liguria, and is beaten at Asta, Urbs, and Pollentia. Some think these events are merely one event, as all three places are so near, but Claudian does not justify this. The sally at Asta was before Pollentia, as the position of the places shews. Alaric finally vanishes as mysteriously from Italy as he had from Greece. The account of Jordanes and the *Historia Miscella* has many blunders and cannot be trusted. Rosenstein accepts 402 A.D. as the date of Pollentia, though he admits that places in Claudian and Prudentius support 403 A.D.

Rhadagaisus cannot have taken part in this invasion, as he is not once mentioned in Claudian. Pallmann very wrongly assumes that an allusion of Claudian to 'gemini tyranni' refers to Alaric and Rhadagaisus. This of course refers to Eugenius and Maximus; Prosper's mistake was due to a misunderstanding of Orosius.

Stilicho desired power not merely for selfish motives. The continuance of the empire was only possible by agreeing with the barbarians, and a development of Theodosius' policy was necessary. When Rosenstein goes on to consider the events after Alaric's withdrawal from Italy, he admits that Stilicho, who now wished to assume the aggressive against the East, was possibly guilty of high treason, but that does not diminish the greatness of the man.

Much that Rosenstein says upon the policies of Alaric and Stilicho is of great value, but he seems to be somewhat too favourable to Stilicho. His assumption that Alaric entered Italy in 400 A.D. and took part in the battle of Pollentia in 402 A.D. is negatived by Claudian's statement—and Rosenstein has much respect for his authority—that

Alaric was only in Italy one winter. Rosenstein rightly falls foul of Pallmann for his many inaccuracies, and also accuses him of plagiarism. The latter critic has also been attacked by Volz.

Volz is of opinion that the battle of Pollentia took place on March 29th, and not on April 6th, 402. He does not accept the arguments from the testimony of the chroniclers, and the Theodosian Code. Before I had seen his tract, I had arrived independently at the same conclusions as he on these two points. Much of his tract is merely an ill-tempered attack upon Pallmann, who had made light of some of his arguments. He points out a number of inaccurate statements in Pallmann.

Seeck has treated the chronology of Pollentia and Verona copiously and ably. He will not have it that Claudian is to be slighted as an authority on the chronology of the events. He may be trusted in unessentials. He believes, contrary to most critics, that Claudian often had his poems ready even nine months too early, and had a dislike to alterations. He admits that some of the reasons for assigning Pollentia to 403 A.D. appear cogent and will not absolutely assert that that date is impossible, but finally prefers 402 A.D. The statements about eclipses lead him to accept that of December 27th, 400 A.D., as the one mentioned by Claudian. He assumes that Prosper by a mistake assigned Alaric's first approach to 402, meaning 401 A.D.

Seeck has also examined Synesius' *De Providentia* closely, and the results of his chronological investigations of the epistles are generally accepted. He considers the allegory of great importance. He identifies Typho with Caesarius, apparently rightly, and regards Aurelian as the leader of the anti-German party. Of this party the Empress Eudoxia was also an influential supporter. Synesius did not leave Constantinople till 402 A.D., as he proves by various arguments.

Seeck has also examined Claudian's account of the Gildonic War with reference to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and shews from this that many of the detachments mentioned could not have been full legions. He thinks that the army was not very large, and probably did not exceed 5000 men in number. Seeck has therefore made a considerable contribution to the clearing up of several obscure points.

Simonis has written a monograph on Alaric. Alaric moved after Theodosius' death because he did not wish his people to lose their military spirit through inaction. He seems to misunderstand a passage of Claudian, *Larus Serenae*, 236, and says that Serena was still in Greece when Alaric first invaded it. But Claudian says elsewhere that Serena accompanied Honorius to Rome before Theodosius' death! He believes that Stilicho in concert with Gainas arranged the assassination of Rufinus, and accepts Claudian's account of two expeditions to Greece by Stilicho. Stilicho refused to destroy Alaric because that would simply deliver the East from a dreaded foe. He was satisfied with demonstrating to Alaric that he was more to be feared. Alaric's position in Illyricum was recognised by both courts, though Claudian would deny this.

Alaric was thus in a favourable position to invade Italy, though he did not yet think of overthrowing Rome. He crossed the Alps at the end of 400 A.D. and entered Italy proper in 401 A.D. Aquileia was besieged, as Jerome in *Rufinum* III. 6 shews. Honorius was also beleaguered at Milan. Alaric on Stilicho's arrival went South over the Po into Liguria, and Pollentia took place in 402 A.D. Simonis thinks that Alaric's wife was taken a prisoner, but few accept this interpretation of Claudian's reference to the 'carae nurus.' He rightly says that Alaric's abilities and accomplishments were far above those of an ordinary barbarian chief.

There seems no reason to believe with Simonis that a

year elapsed between the crossing of the Alps and Alaric's entrance of Italy. Jordanes' authority on this point may be neglected. On one or two minor points Simonis seems to be inaccurate.

Gueldenpenning treats the history of this period, as far as the East is concerned, in detail. He regards Theodosius' death as the signal for the barbarian risings. He compares the power and character of the two parts of the empire very fully. Stilicho he thinks derived such power as he had over the East chiefly from his moral weight as a son-in-law of Theodosius. He does not give much credit to the charges made against Rufinus, the 'allgemeine Laster des Beamtenstandes der damaligen Zeit.' Theodosius' sharp insight had discerned his useful qualities. Rufinus could only have been filled with anxiety at the invasion of the barbarians; the view that he summoned Alaric is excluded by its 'internal improbability.'

In spite of Claudian's bias, Gueldenpenning accepts him as the best and most living authority for the time. He is a contemporary and speaks from the very centre of affairs. Synesius is also fully treated, but the chronology of Gueldenpenning is superseded by Seeck's later results. Gueldenpenning first dwelt on the importance of the *De Regno* as a manifesto of the anti-Gothic party, and a declaration of war against the Goths. He believes that the name Typho masks from us one of the most potent personalities of the age, but this is a difficult hypothesis. He points out that Sievers' 'Studies' are full of errors in those places where they treat of this period.

Gueldenpenning believes that the incident narrated by Philostorgius may have shattered Eutropius' power, but he does not deal with the question as to what place of importance we are to assign Eutropius, if the history of the time is, as Synesius would have it, merely a duel between Typho and

Osiris. His description of the Egyptians as a contemporary picture, marked by the greatest care for accuracy and fidelity to truth, is one we can in no way accept. He admits that owing to its mystical character much must be left to conjecture.

Gueldenpenning assigns to 401 A.D. (Nov. 18) Alaric's entrance of Italy. The time was well chosen as Stilicho was engaged. After the investment of Aquileia and Milan, Honorius went to Asti to be near the Alpine passes. Stilicho perhaps did not feel strong enough to pursue after Pollentia. There was an armistice which was broken at Verona. Alaric was then surrounded. As I have in some places gone over in some detail the same ground as Gueldenpenning, I have necessarily formed views coinciding with his. But my results were arrived at independently, as I did not read his work until I had written the first draft of my thesis.

Ney in his *Vindiciae Claudianae* sets before him as his object 'ut ornatu poetico rebus detracto nudam veritatem detegamus, aut ubi hoc per fontium penuriam vel dubiam fidem minus fieri possit, quantum quaeque res vero aut falso propior sit enucleemus,' and considers this possible. He examines Claudian's accounts in detail. As regards Theodosius the Great, he notices the poet's candour: 'videmus igitur...nunquam modum excessisse neque labem tacuisse, qua tunc imperium Romanum infectum erat. quare nemo poetam servilem et mendacem assentatorem imperatoris fuisse contendet.' Ney justifies the division of the Empire 'divisis tantum sedibus,' though such a division could hardly endure, and he also defends Stilicho's action in Greece. He will not accept Zosimus' scandalous account of the second expedition. He believes the 'exigua charta' which caused Eutropius' ruin to have been a letter from Gainas. He is strongly in favour of 403 A.D. as the date of Pollentia, and

regards the result of that battle as indecisive. 'Stilicho suo magno detrimento superior quidem discessit, sed ita tamen ut Alaricus non prorsus fusus et fugatus esset, sed tot copias e clade servavisset ut Stilicho foedere hostes ex Italia movere quam iterato proelio omnem civitatis salutem periclitari mallet.' Finally Ney concludes that the authority of Claudian is equal to that of any writer of the period.

Vogt in *Die politischen Bestrebungen Stilichos* examines the sources and gives an introductory sketch, but left the work unfinished. He points out the need of some attempt to stem the tide of barbarian invasion, though the suggestions made by the bellicose Synesius were futile. Stilicho's character was contradictory by an historical and psychological necessity. Vogt then criticises the writers upon this period. The kernel of truth can only be reached after a laborious process, whether the writers be Christian or Pagan. Eunapius was merely a rhetorician, and his adverse judgment upon Stilicho, whose tragic fate it was to be misunderstood by all, is refuted by the testimony of Olympiodorus. He condemns Zosimus' incredible geographical and ethnological ignorance, and his failure to understand the sequence of events. The story of Mascezel's death may be cited as one of his fictions. The poem of Rutilius is fanciful and incorrect. This writer indulges in imaginative pictures of Rome's greatness. The historical foundation of Claudian is slippery and treacherous enough. In his free treatment of events he is a genuine child of his age, with a tendency to extremes. He could not play with objective truth in a completely arbitrary fashion, as he lived near to the events which he related. We, taking an objective standpoint, can often discern the truth. Claudian does not invent events, but freely joins and 'motives' them. His poetic account does not accord with the discreet statesmanship, the wary compromise necessitated by the circumstances

of the age. Alaric is a figment of his imagination, a defiant, headstrong Titan, warring against Heaven. Claudian is thus a very welcome addition to the prose sources for the period.

Vogt therefore in this short tract, which abounds with instances of his historical acumen, takes much the same line, as regards Claudian's historical value, that has been taken independently in this dissertation.

APPENDIX II.

CLAUDIAN'S REFERENCES TO ROMAN HISTORY.

THIS subject might itself be taken for a dissertation and has, I believe, been treated by a German scholar. I will content myself with noting in brief some of Claudian's chief characteristics.

We are struck by his aptness and fertility of illustration. He seems to have followed the precepts which he makes Theodosius give Honorius—'Let not the antiquity of Greece and Rome ever cease to hold converse with thee. Transfer thyself back into the past of Latium.' So too he introduces Maria, prior to her marriage, sitting with her mother, poring over 'ancient examples of Roman chastity,' and conning Homer and Orpheus. Of Greek history we hear little except of Xerxes' invasion and the causes of the downfall of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Alexander and Porus, but in Roman history he has an ample fund of instances. He refers to Romulus, Numa, Ancus and Tarquinius, of the Kings (also Porsena and Tanaquil); Brutus the liberator, Cloelia, Mucius and Cocles. Almost every one of the great Roman worthies is mentioned, some repeatedly. The Decii, Camillus (Allia and the capture of Rome), the Gallic King Brennus, Fabricius, Torquatus, the Sabines, Veii, the Curii, Dentatus, and of course the invasion of Pyrrhus, all occur in his pages. There is much about the Punic Wars, especially the second, and Hannibal's long stay in Italy.

Marcellus, Fabius, Scipio, the inevitable Regulus, and Philip of Macedon's foolish intervention are mentioned. The Pauli and Metelli, Spartacus and Cinna, the battle at the Colline Gate, Marius' great slaughter of the Teutons at Vercellae, Bocchus and Jugurtha, all 'point some moral or adorn some tale.' Pompeius' defeat at Pharsalia, his murder by Pothinus, Attalus' legacy and Cato also find mention. It is rather surprising that Claudian is not keenly enamoured of the early emperors. Julius Caesar is censured for the violence done to the law, Augustus is branded as a hypocrite for his profession that he wished to avenge Julius, Tiberius' hideous orgies, and Nero's amateur theatricals are condemned as striking instances of guilt. But he praises that 'mutual virtue' which gave Rome so glorious a line of emperors from Trajan to Marcus Antoninus, a pedigree from 'choice,' not 'blood.' He also mentions Marcus' return from the conquest of the Marcomanni, when Fortune rescued the West engirt by dangers on all sides; and ascribes the victory to a fiery rain, not to the merits of the general, though he avers that the character of Aurelius might command the obedience of Jove.

Such a sketchy epitome shews at any rate that Claudian had a wide, if not a profound, knowledge of Rome's past. The introduction of these references is, as we have said, nearly always *à propos* and not forced. He seems to have studied Livy well. The poem in honour of Mallius Theodorus shews that he was well acquainted with philosophy. For more than one reason, then, he well deserves the Roman stock epithet for poets, 'doctus.'

APPENDIX III.

A NOTE ON *DE CONS. STIL.* II. 250.

‘me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus’ inquit
‘munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Hivernen
movit,’ etc.

The ‘Scottish’ leader here vaguely mentioned has been identified by some Irish annalists with ‘Niall Neghiallaigh,’ ‘Niall of the Nine Hostages,’ a chief who at this time held a commanding position in Ireland (died 405 A.D.).

Claudian’s references to Britain, like all his references to the barbarous tribes which infested the Roman frontiers, are extremely vague and indefinite. His accounts, e.g. of that rebellion in Asia Minor which led to the fall of Tribigild, and of the Gildonic campaign, are lacking in precision. Claudian follows the pernicious custom which Lucan introduced of making an empty parade of useless erudition. His references to Britain contain frequent allusions to the Orkneys (‘ultima Thyle’), and can be of little use to the student of early Irish history. Scot, Pict and Saxon follow each other in swift succession in a poet whose sole aim seems at times to be the introduction of as many proper names as possible in each line.

Other references to Scots and Picts are found in *In Eutropium* I. 392, and *De Bello Getico*, 402, but the

historian of 'Niall of the Nine Hostages' will search Claudian in vain for any material which will be of much value to him. Niall's history must be gleaned rather from Hibernian than from Roman authorities.

I am indebted to Dr Norman Moore for the information that this passage of Claudian has thus been interpreted by Irish antiquaries.

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